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THE LITERARY CAREER OF JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.

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Index of the Paragraphs, Letters, Essays &c.
By James Boswell Esq: They are marked thus *

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THE LITERARY CAREER OF JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.

BEING THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS FOR A LIFE OF BOSWELL

BY

FREDERICK ALBERT POTTLE

Assistant Professor of English in Yale University

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TO

CHAUNCEY BREWSTER TINKER

O! while along the stream of time, thy name
Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame,
Say, shall my little bark attendant sail,
Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale?

POPE

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THIS book has been elaborated from a section of a thesis presented in 1925 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Yale University. One of the chief sources of my pleasure in finally completing it is to be able to thank publicly the many people who have so generously helped me in its composition. All works of scholarship are necessarily co-operative, and of none is this more true than of a bibliography. This list is really an extension of my title-page, being, in fact, the names of those who have been joint authors with me.

Professor Chauncey Brewster Tinker first suggested that I undertake this work, and directed it through its first stages. During the whole progress of its composition he has allowed me to use his splendid library as freely as though it were my own, and has been an unfailing source of counsel and inspiration. In forming my first sketch I was helped by collections of bibliographical notes on Boswell generously placed at my disposal by three former pupils of Professor Tinker and friends of mine in the Yale Graduate School, Elizabeth W. Manwaring, Roswell G. Ham, and Merrill D. Clubb. I have also received a great deal of assistance from other colleagues at Yale and from many private scholars in Europe and America. I wish especially to thank Carl P. Rollins, Adolph B. Benson, Frederick W. Hilles, Margery Bailey, Albert Schinz, W. S. Lewis, A. Edward Newton, John T. Snyder, Oliver R. Barrett, Geoffrey Scott, David Murray, J. T. T. Brown, Frank Miller, John Millar, T. B. Simpson, T. J. Wise, R. A. Austen-Leigh, Mrs. H. S. Dickin, A. W. Evans, Horace Bleackley, R. B. McKerrow, Roger Ingpen, Euan H. M. Cox, Yrjö Hirn, and Harald Heyman.

A large portion of my material has been accumulated by correspondence with the officials of great public libraries. It is a source of particular pleasure to me to recall that, though in gathering my facts I have probably written five hundred letters asking for detailed information, I have only once failed

to receive prompt, courteous, and expert assistance, though to furnish the information I had asked for generally involved tedious research and the writing of long letters. I have received especially valuable and extensive assistance from Annie A. Nunns of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, H. M. Lydenberg of the New York Public Library, and R. F. Sharp of the Library of the British Museum. I wish also to express my gratitude to Walter B. Briggs of the Harvard College Library, Frank H. Chase of the Boston Public Library, Isadore G. Mudge of the Library of Columbia University, A. Mill and R. R. Finster of the New York Public Library, C. W. Gettys of the Library of the University of Chicago, E. W. Winkler of the Library of the University of Texas, Walter M. Smith of the Library of the University of Wisconsin, F. R. D. Needham, H. H. E. Craster, and C. J. Hindle of the Bodleian Library, William A. Wood of the Johnson Society, Lichfield, William K. Dickson and William Maxwell Cooper of the National Library of Scotland, John Minto of the Signet Library, Edinburgh, David Cuthbertson, J. Ballantyne, and L. W. Sharp of the Library of the University of Edinburgh, S. A. Pitt of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, W. R. Cunningham of the Library of the University of Glasgow, Ch. Bourel de la Roncière of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Wilhelm Poewe of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, E. K. Molhuysen-Oppenheim of the Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden, and J. Berg of the Universiteits-Bibliotheek, Amsterdam. But the greatest part of my work was done at Yale, and it is to the entire staff of the Yale University Library that I confess my principal obligation. Lack of space forbids my printing all the names I ought to mention, but I cannot forbear thanking especially L. Nemoy, who enabled me to give some detailed information concerning an important work in Russian, and Emily H. Hall, Assistant Reference Librarian, whose expert assistance has left its traces in nearly every article in the book.

The owners of the great private collections of Boswelliana have been most generous in putting their treasures at my disposal and in answering my queries. I have already mentioned Professor Tinker. David Murray, D. Nichol Smith, L. F.

Powell, and Charles McCamic have lent me valuable books and manuscripts by post. Alfred W. Cox, Leonard Whibley, John T. Snyder, Oliver Barrett, and O. F. Soule have given me detailed information concerning unique or rare Boswell items in their possession. It has been particularly fortunate for me that the greatest collections of Johnsoniana and Boswelliana are now in America. Mr. Adam has been especially kind. He put his books at my disposal when I once visited him, has sent rare books to New Haven for me to examine, and has read my proofs and reported on mistakes in them. Boswell's file of the *London Chronicle*, from which so much of my information concerning Boswell's periodical publications is derived, was presented by him to the Yale University Library. Colonel Isham on several occasions has given me unreserved access to his books, has lent me unique items, has answered my queries, and has read and corrected my proofs. He has allowed me to anticipate his own forthcoming publication by printing here for the first time certain extracts from Boswell's manuscript diary in his possession. I owe a peculiar debt of gratitude to my friend the Rev. Robert McKinlay of Stonehouse, Lanarkshire. When I began this work Professor Tinker told me that Dr. McKinlay had been studying the bibliography of Boswell for years, and knew more about it than any one else. As soon as I broached my project to Dr. McKinlay, he handed over to me the whole fruit of his labours to be incorporated in my book. Although not a rich man, he has assembled a remarkable collection of Boswell's works, which at the slightest hint from me he has been willing to send across the Atlantic for me to study. It is impossible for me to say how much of my work is really his, but a great deal of it must be.

If my book receives any commendation for accuracy and inclusiveness, I should wish a large share of the praise to go to the gentlemen who have so sedulously helped me with the text; especially to R. W. Chapman, who led in the work himself, and enlisted others in my service. My original manuscript was read and annotated by Mr. Chapman, D. Nichol Smith, and L. F. Powell. I then went over their criticisms and revised the entire work, greatly to its advantage. The proofs

were read, in whole or in part, by Mr. Chapman, Mr. Powell, Mr. Nichol Smith, Mr. Leonard Whibley, Mr. Adam, Col. Isham, Dr. McKinlay, and Mr. Heyman. Mr. Whibley sent me some especially valuable corrections and additions. In consequence of their notes, I made a quite illegitimate amount of correction in the proofs, which Mr. Chapman allowed to pass. The book as it now appears is virtually a second edition. I should also like to thank the compositors and proof-readers of the Clarendon Press for their remarkably accurate handling of a difficult manuscript.

My wife has assisted me in all the stages of the work, and has compiled the greater part of the index.

INTRODUCTION

I HAVE read somewhere in an old volume that he who has been sedulously dull in his book may be permitted to make merry in his preface. That I have been sedulously dull in this book, I think no one will deny who has attempted to read it through without skipping. After so long and stern a repression of the delights of rhetoric, I feel that I have purchased the right now to let myself go, and to say as recklessly as I please some of the things I have all along wanted to say. And if, like Boswell at the end of *The Hypochondriack*, I find that what I have written is 'not so lively as I expected it would be,' I can fall back on the thought that consoled him: it is likely, at any rate, to be 'more learned'.

I was moved to compile this book because I thought that something of the kind would have to be done before it would be possible to write an adequate biography of Boswell. I did not write it primarily for the benefit of dealers and collectors. I have the greatest respect for those gentlemen, and I consider that the scholar of to-day who makes remarks about 'mere collectors' is talking nonsense. Our science of bibliography would be sadly hampered, indeed, were it not for the generous and largely disinterested service which private collectors perform by buying and putting freely at our disposal books which our public libraries cannot or will not purchase. I have consequently done my best to give these friends of mine the information they need, but my chief interest has all along been the biography of Boswell.

I hardly think that an extensive bibliographical study has hitherto been undertaken from just this point of view. The services of scientific bibliography to pure literature are now generally admitted, but the application so far exploited has been mainly the textual—'to reconstruct from the printed book the text as originally conceived by its author'.[1] I agree with Mr. McKerrow that it would probably be an aid to clear thinking

[1] R. B. McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 1.

if we could restrict the word 'bibliography' to this kind of research. But I have to call what I have done something, and I hesitate to coin a word. If any one can give me a better than 'bibliography' I shall be grateful. I certainly have much more in mind than the reconstruction of a trustworthy text, important as that is. My aim has been to make a thoroughgoing application of the principles of scientific bibliography to the whole of a literary career, in the conviction that such a study is one of the safest and most fruitful ways of coming to understand the character of the author himself.

The most valuable additions made to the biography of Shakespeare during the last hundred years have been the results of scientific bibliography. No man ever wrote on Shakespeare who had a more acute or subtle mind than Professor Dowden, or who, given the real facts, could have done more with them. But since the brilliant researches of Pollard and Greg—to mention only the leaders—what is left of Dowden's work in the biography of Shakespeare? It is vitiated throughout by having been based on a chronology of Shakespeare's plays which scientific bibliography has shown to be mistaken. Yet I have a feeling that the moral of this has not been laid to heart as it should have been. We ought not to resort to bibliography simply because of a paucity of other evidence, or when all other means have failed: we ought to begin with bibliography even when we think we have a sufficiency of biographical information.

What is the problem of a man who wishes to write a biography of an author whom he did not know in the flesh? (I am not speaking of critical essays, in which the method of divination is legitimate, but of professed lives.) His problem, is it not, is to form in the imagination a strong and trustworthy impression of the personality of his subject. It is the conviction which the biographer gives his reader of having a vital comprehension of the mind he is dealing with that determines whether his book is really a biography or not. Biographers have various ways of getting this impression of personality. One way is to read as you come to it everything you can find pertaining to your subject, to keep your mind open and simply collect facts. When you have read, as it seems to you, every-

thing of importance, and have filled drawer after drawer with notes, you can make a dispassionate survey of your materials and form your imaginative reconstruction. You can, but I am sure no one ever did. If a man really could keep his mind open until he had assembled all the facts, he would find himself precisely in the plight of Mr. Casaubon with his materials for the mythology of all races. The imagination never makes a dead leap from a heap of facts. If it works at all, its processes are those of the growing snowball; facts come alive, cling together, and build up into a vital imaginative organism only as there is something for them to cling to. Of course many men being perhaps younger and more vigorous than Mr. Casaubon, have found themselves in his plight and yet have published biographies—by the simple procedure of sorting their files of notes into chronological sequence and hurling them at the printer. Such biographies are amorphous; they are really not biographies but chronicles.

What happens in real biography is that the biographer, pretty early in his work, allows his imagination to form from only a partial reading of the evidence a trial impression of the personality he is attempting to reconstruct. He then collects his facts with this tentative reconstruction always in mind. If the facts fit, he uses them to fill in the picture; if they won't fit, he must modify his conception until they do. But he always builds up on this imaginative core; he does not simply collect facts and wait for something to quicken the chaos.

The danger is that he will get at the outset a mistaken impression which he will later be unable or unwilling to modify. He is especially liable, in the early stages of his reading, to see his subject in the light of one ruling passion and to present something much simpler than life. This is the fault of the majority of the truly brilliant books now offered to us as biographies. The authors of these works apparently gain their first impression by a swift reading of previous biographies, and especially of letters and diaries. From this material they catch up whatever is vivid and amusing, especially what readily adapts itself to an ironic purpose. Using these, perhaps unrepresentative, details they draw the outline of their sketch, and then in their subsequent reading deliberately select only

such colours as will finish the picture. Whatever is discordant is simply ignored. The result is eminently readable, for it is highly artistic, but it deserves to be classed as fiction rather than as biography.

Is there no way to avoid the dullness of the amorphous biography on the one hand, and the specious brilliance of the impressionistic biography on the other? Can a biographer follow no course that will enable him to have from the first a conception of character which is not only objective and adequate, but also plastic? Scientific bibliography, while it cannot remove all the difficulties, seems to me to offer a real solution. If we make a serious study in strictly chronological order of everything our author wrote, so far as it is accessible, learning under what circumstances those works were conceived, what were their literary sources and the influences upon them (if certainly known), under what arrangements they were published, what revision they suffered, what reception they met at the hands of their contemporaries at home and abroad—if we do this, we shall find ourselves able to harmonize most of the discrepancies because we shall see them as the logical expression of a developing personality. The biographer who approaches an author in this way will have a definite conception of his subject's character as soon as he has read his first publication and pushed the lines of inquiry out to the lengths I have indicated. This conception will develop naturally as he goes on reading, just as the man's mind matured in life. When he has finished such an investigation he will be surprised to find how little there is left to consider, for the application of bibliography to a literary career, as I conceive it, leaves few of the pertinent facts unexamined. The biographer naturally will not introduce any technical bibliographical matter into his biography. The technicalities have been a means to an end. But I cannot agree with the most popular of our modern biographers, who seem to think that in writing the life of a man of letters one succeeds only as he makes the reader forget that the man he is reading about was an author. So far from its being necessary to dissociate the 'man' from the 'author', it seems to me highly necessary to keep the two, as in life, one entity. Is a book really a biography of Shelley which only casually concerns

itself with his poetic achievement? For instance, which are really more important in the development of his personality, the births and deaths of his children, or the composition and publication of *Prometheus Unbound* and *Adonais*?

This book is not in any sense a biography of Boswell. It is, indeed, only a fragment of that bibliographical study I am recommending. No adequate life of Boswell can be written until the staggering mass of manuscripts from the Auchinleck Collection, now in the possession of Colonel Isham, has been put in order and published. No life should be written until more research has been made into the details of Boswell's legal practice. But ground once gained will not be lost, and the publication of what I have so far put in shape will expedite the preparation of the rest of the evidence. Yet, though I make no claim to have written a new biography of Boswell, I have naturally been able to present a good deal of new biographical information, some of it affecting considerably our whole conception of his character.

The most important effect of this book is likely to be produced by its mere size. It will probably surprise even serious students of the period to see that Boswell published so much. No one who goes through this record carefully can fail to be convinced that Boswell's chief passion, from his earliest years to the end of his life, was literary fame. The *Life of Johnson* was no single book miraculously produced by an inexperienced author. It was the crowning achievement of an artist who for more than twenty-five years had been deliberately disciplining himself for such a task. The mere bulk of Boswell's work is important, quite apart from its intrinsic merit, for it shows him to have been much less dissipated and much more industrious than even his best friends have dared to maintain.[1]

When the facts in the case are obscure, the counsel for the accused has two ways to free his client. He may produce a sufficient number of respectable witnesses to testify that, to

[1] Thus even Hill scolds Boswell for requiring six years to write a book which he himself took 'more than twelve' to edit. Considering its size and the immense amount of documentation involved, the *Life* was written in a surprisingly short space of time.

their certain knowledge, the crime alleged is incompatible with the character of the accused. But no lawyer who knows juries would waste any time on such a course if he were able to show by irrefutable evidence that the accused was certainly in another place when the crime was committed. In biography, as in the criminal court, the method of alibi is surely the most effective. Boswell has been charged, among other things, with being a sot and an idler, and to refute the charge we have perhaps relied a little too much on the testimony of 'character witnesses'. Is it not more conclusive simply to thump down this book, which shows, unless I am mistaken, that Boswell's publication may have exceeded Johnson's?

Let me add at random two or three more specific illustrations of the way in which I think this study will cast a new light on the biography of Boswell. He once wrote in his notebook that 'he had got upon a rock in Corsica and jumped into the middle of life'.[1] The remark has been ignored, but it is none the less true. Even a hasty perusal of the thirty-five pages which I have found it necessary to devote to the description of Boswell's various Corsican works, and the additional pages filled with lists of references to his publications in periodicals on the same subject, will show that as early as 1769 (i.e. before he was thirty) Boswell was an author of international reputation. In Europe he was certainly better known than Johnson,[2] though by 1769 Johnson had done his best work with the exception of the *Lives of the Poets*. In Great Britain no one who could read at all could escape seeing his name in almost every newspaper he opened. In short, Boswell did not leap into fame by writing books on Johnson; he was 'the celebrated Mr. Boswell' long before the appearance of *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*. He was, no doubt, guilty of absurd vanity in his behaviour at the Stratford Jubilee, but he was certainly not an obscure author forcing himself upon the attention of an unwilling public. On the contrary, he was one of the most talked-of authors of the day, making capital out of the great popular interest in his book.

The future biographer of Boswell faces a delicate problem in deciding what weight he will give to the *Ode by Dr. Samuel*

[1] *Boswelliana*, p. 328.

[2] On this point see *post*, p. 71.

Johnson to Mrs. Thrale upon their supposed approaching Nuptials. There can no longer be any doubt that Boswell wrote and published it, yet it must seriously modify our conception of his attitude toward Dr. Johnson. His friends and enemies alike have united in believing that his affection for Johnson amounted to worship, if not idolatry. Perhaps it did, but we shall now have to define his worship as of a kind that permitted him, only three years before Johnson's death, to compose a ribald poem on the object of his idolatry, and only three years after Johnson's death to publish and circulate it—at the very time when he was engaged in writing those passages in the *Life* on which the charge of idolatry is based. This is enough to warn us that Boswell is not so simple a character as we have assumed. If he is not the witless parasite of Macaulay's smashing rhetoric, neither can he remain in a full-length biography the altogether charming and genial figure we have since come to consider him.

But, if I were to indicate which portion of my book is the most important, I should decide for the second section—Boswell's publication in periodicals. The reader must remember that these fifty pages are filled with hardly more than *references* to articles, which, if collected, would surprise us by their bulk. *The Hypochondriack* has already been collected in two volumes. The essays and paragraphs on Corsica and the Douglas Cause would make two more. And this is only a fraction of his periodical publication; indeed, my list of references is far from complete. My index shows that he published articles in periodicals under at least forty-five pseudonyms (not counting doubtful instances), a number which becomes more impressive when it is added that the great majority of his articles are not signed at all. During the year 1767 he published seventy separate articles in one newspaper, the *London Chronicle*. The greater number are short, but some are long enough to fill an entire newspaper page. All of them were written in Edinburgh and sent to London by post. During this same year he carried on a busy law practice, wrote the greater part of *An Account of Corsica* and saw it through the press, wrote and published *Dorando* and *The Essence of the Douglas Cause*, edited (perhaps compiled and published) the *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*—besides

doing much other popular writing concerning the Douglas Cause of which we have recovered one broadside and many items in other newspapers than the *London Chronicle.* It is not merely the amount of this newspaper publication that I wish to stress. Boswell's journalistic writing is the best of his minor work, and is so varied in character that it must be read more or less entire by one who wishes to get an adequate understanding of his complex mentality. Of these articles in the *London Chronicle* for 1767, many are shameless puffs of *Dorando* and *An Account of Corsica.*. Many are genuine Corsican news-items. More, while pretending to be genuine, give wholly fictitious Corsican news invented in the pious hope of involving Great Britain in a war to liberate Corsica. ('Foolish as we are,' wrote Lord Holland, ' we cannot go to war because Mr. Boswell has been in Corsica.') But perhaps half the items are pure ' inventions ' (Boswell's own word)—fictitious news paragraphs apparently written for the sheer fun of fooling people.

As to the principles on which this book is written, I have only one plea to make. I have honestly tried to present all the pertinent evidence known to me on all the topics I have considered, and either to draw some conclusion or to state frankly my inability to do so. Unfortunately this is not the usual practice of scholars. Some of our best works of reference achieve their reputation for accuracy by treating with almost embarrassing fullness those portions for which the facts are certainly established, and gliding smoothly without comment over those for which the evidence is dubious or scanty. It is the course of prudence not to commit yourself on such matters, for if you do not commit yourself you cannot be proved wrong, and you always give the impression that you know the answer but think it not worth recording. The progress of science, however, is best advanced if each investigator, instead of withholding his imperfect information, will spread it before the world when he has done what he can with it. Some of my hypotheses will certainly be proved wrong, but I hope that the scholars who explode me will give me the credit of having done all I could to make their task easy. As was said by my better and theirs: *Quod potui feci; faciant meliora potentes.*

For another practice I probably have less excuse. In a few instances I built up and sent to press elaborate arguments which I found later completely confirmed by passages in Boswell's unpublished diary. Since the extracts from the diary are quite enough to establish the point, I might have cancelled the arguments in the proofs, but I have left them, partly through vanity, and partly because I am persuaded that in this new science of ours methods of argument that arrive at true conclusions are worthy of the study of other bibliographers.

I planned and wrote this Introduction in my head a long time ago, but when I came to set it down on paper I found that of the original draft (a much abler piece of work than this) I had forgotten all but the opening paragraph and the last seven words of the concluding sentence. The seven words—which must surely have meant something—were these: 'the bibliographer of the biographer of Johnson'.

New Haven,
November 9, 1928.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

In general my abbreviations will present no difficulties. For all but a few works to which I have made very frequent reference I have given the authors' names; when there seemed to be any chance of ambiguity, I have printed the full titles (under the authors) in the index. Of the short titles which I have adopted for Boswell's own works only the following require explanation:

Corsica. An Account of Corsica, the Journal of a Tour to that Island; and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli. See *post*, p. 50.

Erskine Correspondence. Letters between the Honourable Andrew Erskine, and James Boswell, Esq., London, 1763. See *post*, p. 19.

Hebrides or *Tour*. The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D. See below under *Life*, and *post*, p. 112.

Besides these, I have consistently used abbreviations for the following:

Boswelliana. Boswelliana, the Commonplace Book of James Boswell. With a Memoir and Annotations by the Rev. Charles Rogers. London, 1874. See *post*, p. 277.

Letters. Letters of James Boswell collected and edited by Chauncey Brewster Tinker. Oxford, 1924. 2 vols. See *post*, p. 281.

Life. The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., by James Boswell. Unless some other edition is specified, all my references are to the edition of G. B. Hill, Oxford, 1887. 6 vols. (See *post*, p. 190.) The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides forms the fifth volume of this edition; unless otherwise stated, I have always used it for reference. To avoid ambiguity, I have employed the rather ugly form *Life* v. (*Hebrides*).

Caledon. Merc. The Caledonian Mercury. See *post*, p. 258.

Courant. The Edinburgh Evening Courant. See *post*, p. 262.

Edin. Advt. The Edinburgh Advertiser. See *post*, p. 250.

Europ. Mag. The European Magazine. See *post*, p. 234.

Gent. Mag. The Gentleman's Magazine. See *post*, p. 228.

Lond. Chron. The London Chronicle. See *post*, p. 236.

Lond. Mag. The London Magazine. See *post*, p. 221.

Pub. Advt. The Public Advertiser. See *post*, p. 255.

Scots Mag. The Scots Magazine. See *post*, p. 215.

St. James's Chron. The St. James's Chronicle. See *post*, p. 260

THE

EUROPEAN MAGAZINE,

AND

LONDON REVIEW,

For MAY 1791.

MEMOIRS OF JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.[1]

[This important memoir, which has hitherto never been completely reprinted and is now difficult of access, was written by Boswell himself, and forms the basis of all subsequent biographical accounts. I have decided to include it in this book, though it fails to mention many of his minor works, because so far as I know it is the only record Boswell has left of his numerous publications. His own notes are signed with his name; the few I have added are intended only to elucidate the passages of bibliographical significance. The pagination of the original is given in the margin.—ED.]

JAMES BOSWELL, Esq., was born at Edinburgh on the 29th of 323
October, N.S. 1740, being the eldest son of Alexander Boswell, Esq., an eminent Judge in the Supreme Courts of Session and Justiciary in Scotland, by the title of Lord Auchinleck, from the Barony of that name in Ayrshire, which has been the property of the family for almost three centuries. His mother was Mrs. Euphemia Erskine, descended in the line of Alva from the noble House of Mar, a lady of distinguished piety.

He received his early education at the school of Mr. James Mundell, in Edinburgh, a teacher of great reputation; amongst whose scholars were, Mr. Ilay Campbell, now Lord President of the Court of Session, and many others who do honour to his memory. He went through the regular course of the College of Edinburgh, where he formed an intimacy with Mr. Temple, of Allardeen in Northumberland, some time Rector of Mamhead in Devonshire, and

[1] In giving an account of this Gentleman, there is little occasion to make private inquiries; as from a certain peculiarity, frank, open, and ostentatious, which he avows, his history, like that of the old Seigneur Michael de Montaigne, is to be traced in his writings. BOSWELL.

now Vicar of St. Gluvias in Cornwall; an intimacy which has continued without interruption, and has probably contributed to keep alive that love of literature and of English manners which has ever marked Mr. Boswell's character. He very early began to show a propensity to distinguish himself in literary composition, in which he was encouraged by the late Lord Somerville, to whose memory he pays a grateful tribute.[1] While he was at Edinburgh College, Lady Honston,[2] sister of the late Lord Cathcart, put under his care a comedy, entitled, "*The Coquettes; or, The Gallant in the Closet*;" with a strict injunction that its author should be concealed. Mr. Boswell, who was then very fond of the drama, and associated much with the players, got this comedy brought upon the stage, and wrote the prologue to it, which was spoken by Mr. Parsons. But it was not successful, being in truth *damned* the third night, and not unjustly; for it was found to be chiefly a translation of one of the bad plays of Thomas Corneille. Such, however, was the fidelity of Mr. Boswell, that although from his attending the rehearsals, and other circumstances, he was generally supposed to be the author of it himself, and consequently had the laugh and sneer of his country against him, he never mentioned by whom it was written; nor was it known till the discovery was made by the lady herself.

Having studied civil law for some time at Edinburgh, Mr. Boswell went for one winter to continue it at the University of Glasgow, where he also attended the lectures of Dr. Adam Smith on moral philosophy and rhetoric.

At this early period he was flattered by being held forth as a Patron of Literature; for Mr. Francis Gentleman published at the elegant press of the *Foulis's* the tragedy of *Oroonoko*,[3] altered from Southerne, and inscribed it to him in a poetical epistle, concluding thus in the person of his Muse: |

324 But where with honest pleasure she can find
Sense, taste, religion, and good-nature join'd,
There gladly will she raise her feeble voice,
Nor fear to tell that BOSWELL is her choice.

[1] Life, iv. 50 n. 2. See *post*, p. 291.

[2] 'Honston' is a misprint for 'Houston'. For a full account of Lady Eleanora Houston and her plays see *N. & Q.*, 3rd ser., x. 81–3. *The Coquettes* seems to have disappeared. It was probably a translation of Thomas Corneille's *Les Engagements du Hasard*, the fourth act of which is mainly occupied with the different concealments of 'the gallant in the closet'. Two drafts of Boswell's unpublished prologue survive in Bodleian MS. Douce 193, foll. 54, 54^{v}, 55. The play seems to have been presented during the winter season 1758–9.

[3] See *post*, p. 292.

He had acquired, from reading and conversation, an almost enthusiastic notion of the felicity of London, which he visited, for the first time, early in the year 1760, and his ardent expectations were not disappointed. He had already given some specimens of a talent for writing in several occasional essays,[1] both in prose and verse, without a name, and he soon obtained the acquaintance of many of the wits of the metropolis, having the late Mr. Derrick as his introductor into "many-colour'd life," or, as he has pleasantly expressed it, his *governor*. But his views of the world were chiefly opened by the late Alexander Earl of Eglintoune,[2] one of the most amiable and accomplished noblemen of his time, who being of the same county, and from his earliest years acquainted with the family of Auchinleck, insisted that young Boswell should have an apartment of his house, and introduced him into the circles of the great, the gay, and the ingenious. He in particular carried him to Newmarket, the history of which Mr. Boswell related in a poem written upon the spot, entitled, "*The Cub at Newmarket, A Tale;*"[3] which he published next year in quarto, with a dedication to Edward Duke of York, to whom the author had been allowed to read it in manuscript, and had been honoured with his Royal Highness's approbation.

Captivated with the variety and animation of the metropolis, Mr. Boswell was now earnest to have a commission as an Officer of the Guards; but his father prevailed with him to return to Scotland, and take some time to consider of it. Wishing that his son should apply to the law, which his family had done for two generations with great advantage, Lord Auchinleck took the trouble himself to give him a regular course of instruction in that science; a circumstance of singular benefit, and of which Mr. Boswell has ever expressed a strong and grateful sense. Mr. Boswell at this time, but still without putting his name, only the initials, contributed several pieces to "*A Collection of Poems by Gentlemen of Scotland,*"[4] published by Mr. Alexander Donaldson. Several of these were particularly distinguished

[1] His only publications before 1760 which I have certainly identified are three poems in *Scots Mag.* See *Life*, i. 112 and *post*, pp. 215–16.

[2] He published an amusing letter to Lord Eglinton in *Scots Mag.*, Sept. 1761 (xxiii. 469). See *post*, p. 216.

[3] See *post*, pp. 16–18.

[4] Boswell omits all mention of *A View of the Edinburgh Theatre* (if that be his; see *post*, pp. 284–91), *Observations on the Minor*, *An Elegy on an Amiable Young Lady*, and *An Ode to Tragedy*. In later life he seems not to have been proud of any of these pieces. See *post*, pp. 2–8.

in "The Critical Review."[1] In one of them he pleasantly draws his own character. It appears that he was very intimate with the Reverend Edward Colquet, one of the ministers of the Church of England Chapel at Edinburgh, a man who had lived much in the world, and, with other qualities, was eminent for gay sociality. Mr. Boswell thus speaks of him :

> And he owns that Ned Colquet the priest
> May to something of humour pretend ;
> And he swears that he is not in jest,
> When he calls this same Colquet his friend.

We cannot but observe, that there are traits in it which time has not yet altered. As for instance :

> Boswell does women adore,
> And never once means to deceive ;
> He's in love with at least half a score,
> If they're serious he smiles in his sleeve.

And that egotism and self-applause which he is still displaying, yet it would seem with a conscious smile :

> ——Boswell is modest enough,
> Himself not *quite* PHŒBUS he thinks.

And,

> He has all the bright fancy of youth,
> With the judgement of forty and five ;
> In short, to declare the plain truth,
> There is no better fellow alive.

Having no uncommon desire for the company of men distinguished for talents and literature, he was fortunate enough to get himself received into that of those who were considerably his superiors in age ; such as Lord Elibank, Lord Kaimes, Sir David Dalrymple, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Blair, Mr. David Hume, Dr. Carlyle, Mr. Andrew Stuart, and others ; and was admitted a member of the *Select Society* of Edinburgh. He then passed his trials as a Civilian, before a Committee of the Faculty of Advocates. Persisting, however, in his fondness for the Guards, or rather, in truth, for the metropolis, he again repaired to London, in the end of the year 1762, recommended to the late Duke of Queensberry, the patron of Gay, who, he believed, was to obtain for him what he wished ; but, perhaps from a secret understanding with Lord Auchinleck, it was delayed from time to time till, in summer 1763, a compromise was made, that if he would

[1] See *post*, pp. 10–14. The review mentioned is in *Crit. Rev.*, xiii. 495–9. I have found no further information concerning the Rev. Edward Colquet.

relinquish his favourite project, and resume the study of the civil law, for one winter, at Utrecht, he should afterwards have the indulgence of travelling upon the Continent, provided that on his return he should become an advocate at the Scotch Bar.

This year he, for the first time, appeared as an author with his *name*, in a | little volume of "Letters between the Honourable 325
Andrew Erskine and James Boswell," Esq.[1] a publication in which he and his friend, a brother of the Earl of Kelly, indulged themselves in a vein of singular, and sometimes extravagant humour. During his residence in London at this time, Mr. Boswell cultivated the acquaintance of literary men, and particularly obtained that of Dr. Samuel Johnson, from which so much instruction and entertainment has been derived.

He fulfilled his additional winter's study of civil law at Utrecht, in which that of Holland was intermixed, under the very able German professor Trotz, and made excursions to other parts of the Seven Provinces, particularly the Hague, where he had the great advantage of being treated with all the kindness of relationship by M. Van Sommelsdyck, one of the nobles of Holland, from whose family he had the honour of being descended; a daughter of that illustrious house having married Alexander Earl of Kincardine, whose daughter, Lady Elizabeth Bruce, was Mr. Boswell's grandmother by the father's side.

He then accompanied the late Earl Marischal of Scotland into Germany; and, being well recommended, passed some time at many of the Courts; proceeded through Switzerland to Geneva; visited Rousseau and Voltaire; crossed the Alps into Italy, and not only saw the parts of that delightful country which are commonly surveyed in the course of what is called the *Grand Tour*, but others worthy of a classical traveller's curiosity. During a part of the time which he passed in Italy he had the happiness of being along with Lord Mountstuart, to whose merits he has done justice in a Latin Dedication of his *Theses Juridicæ*.[2] Nor was it a circumstance of small moment in the pleasant and social scale that he met at Turin, Rome, and Naples, the celebrated John Wilkes, Esq. with whom he had always maintained an acquaintance upon the most liberal terms, and with whom he enjoyed many classical scenes with peculiar relish.

But Mr. Boswell's travels were principally marked by his visiting

[1] See *post*, pp. 19–20. He makes no mention here of *Critical Strictures* (*post*, pp. 18–19), though he refers to it in the *Life of Johnson*.

[2] See *post*, pp. 23–4, 26.

the island of Corsica, the internal part of which no native of Britain had ever seen. Undismayed by the reports of danger which were circulated, he penetrated into its wildest districts, and was amply rewarded by the knowledge which he acquired, and by obtaining the acquaintance of its illustrious Chief General Paoli. Miss Aitken, now Mrs. Barbauld, has thus described Mr. Boswell's singular happiness, in her beautiful Poem entitled "CORSICA." After descanting on the blessings of liberty, she proceeds:

> Such were the working thoughts which swell'd the breast,
> Of generous BOSWELL, when with nobler aim
> And views beyond the narrow beaten track
> By trivial fancy trode, he turn'd his course
> From polish'd Gallia's soft delicious vales,
> From the grey reliques of imperial Rome,
> From her long galleries of laurel'd stone,
> Her chissel'd heroes, and her marble Gods
> (Whose dumb majestic pomp yet awes the world),
> To animated forms of patriot zeal;
> Warm in the living majesty of virtue;
> Elate with fearless spirit; firm; resolv'd;
> By fortune unsubdued; unaw'd by power.

On the same account he was celebrated by the late Edward Burnaby Green, Esq. in "Corsica, an Ode;" and by Capel Lofft, Esq. in his "Praises of Poetry." [1]

When Mr. Boswell was at Paris, in January 1766, where he intended to pass the winter, he received accounts of the death of his mother, which obliged him to hasten home to his father. In his way, however,

[1] Boswell is apparently our sole authority for attributing *Corsica, an Ode* to Edward Burnaby Greene. The attribution no doubt rested on certain knowledge, for Greene appears to have been a relative of his friend Andrew Burnaby. (J. Nichols, *Lit. Anec.*, viii. 89, following *Gent. Mag.*, lviii. 276, says he was Burnaby's half-brother, but this must be incorrect. See *D.N.B.* under both names.) The poem appeared in Nov. 1768 (*Lond. Chron.*, Nov. 8, 1768, p. 445). In *Lond. Chron.*, Oct. 31, 1769, Boswell reviewed it over the initials 'B. H.', giving the name of the author, and quoting the passage which mentions himself. The *Ode* has twelve strophes, the tenth of which ends with the lines:

> Let Truth proclaim a baffled Genoa's groan,
> And grace a Classic Isle with Boswells of her own.

For Capel Lofft see *D.N.B.* His poem appeared in 1775, after the loss of Corsica to the French. He refers (p. 6) to Boswell as follows:

> O Corsica!—and must—I mourn thy cause!
> Thou hadst thy Alfred—Clio taught
> His acts, his image, to her Boswell's thought.

In 1785 Lofft seems to have been an intimate friend of Boswell. See *Letter to the People of Scotland* (1785), p. 95, and *Edin. Advt.*, Sept. 6, 1785 (*post*, p. 253).

through London, he had an interview with Mr. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, with whom he corresponded concerning the affairs of Corsica. Some of the particulars of this interview, all of which he committed to writing, he has been heard to mention in a very interesting manner. Soon after his return to Scotland he was admitted an Advocate in the Court of Session, and practised there for some years with good success.

In 1767 the great DOUGLAS CAUSE being an object of universal attention and interest, Mr. Boswell generously volunteered in favour of Mr. Douglas, against whose filiation the Court of Session had decided by the casting vote of the Lord President Dundas. With a labour of which few are capable, he compressed the substance of the immense volumes of proofs and arguments into an octavo pamphlet, which he published with the title of "The Essence of the Douglas Cause;"[1] and as it was thus made intelligible without a tedious study, we may ascribe to this pamphlet a great share of the popularity on Mr. Douglas's side, which was of infinite consequence when a division of the House of Lords upon an appeal was apprehended; not to mention that its effect was said to be considerable in a certain important quarter. He also took care to keep the newspapers and other publica-| tions incessantly warm with various writings, both in 326
prose and verse, all tending to touch the heart and rouse the parental and sympathetic feelings.[2] His aid upon this occasion was acknowledged in some very well written letters by the "worthy Queensberry."[3] It is well known that the hard decree was reversed, and that he whom Mr. Boswell thus supported now enjoys the large property of his family, and has also been raised to the Peerage.

In 1768 Mr. Boswell published "An Account of Corsica, with the Journal of a Tour to that Island, and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli," in one vol. 8vo. This work is universally known, it having not only passed through several editions in English, but been translated into Dutch, German, Italian, and twice into French.[4] Even the stern

[1] So late as 1791 Boswell hesitates to declare himself the author of *Dorando*, a work of which he was, however, extremely proud. He also makes no mention of the *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas* nor of the broadside *The Douglas Cause*. See *post*, pp. 27–50.

[2] For an incomplete list of his periodical publications connected with the *Douglas Cause*, see *post*, pp. 216–18, 238 ff., under *Lond. Chron.*, *Edin. Advt.*, *Pub. Advt.*, *Caled. Merc.* and *Scots Mag.* for the period.

[3] The epithet by which Thomson in his 'Seasons' characterizes the late Duke of Queensberry. BOSWELL.

[4] See *post*, pp. 50–76. There were two German translations, one an abridge

Johnson, we find, thus praises it in a letter to the Author: "Your Journal is in a very high degree curious and delightful. You express images which operated strongly upon yourself, and you have impressed them with great force upon your readers. I know not whether I could name any narrative by which curiosity is better excited or better gratified."

In the following winter, Mr. Boswell, ever ready to take the part of the injured, was (though personally unknown to him) solicited by the late David Ross, Esq. to favour him with a Prologue for the opening a Theatre Royal at Edinburgh,[1] for which Mr. Ross had obtained his Majesty's patent, but found a violent and oppressive party formed in opposition to him. Mr. Boswell complied, and produced what one of Mr. Ross's great patrons, the Earl of Mansfield, well characterized as "a very good copy of verses, very conciliating." This Prologue was spoken by Mr. Ross himself, and was as follows:

SCOTLAND, for learning and for arms renown'd,
In ancient annals is with lustre crown'd;
And still she shares whate'er the world can yield
Of letter'd fame, or glory in the field.
In every distant land Great Britain knows
The Thistle springs promiscuous with the Rose.

While in all points with other lands she vied,
The stage alone to Scotland was denied;
Mistaken Zeal, in times of darkness bred,
O'er the best minds its gloomy vapours spread;
Taste and Religion were supposed at strife;
And 'twas a sin—to view this glass of life!

When the Muse ventur'd the ungracious task,
To play elusive with unlicens'd mask,
Mirth was restrain'd by statutory awe,
And tragick greatness fear'd the scourge of law.
Illustrious heroes arrant *vagrants* seem'd,
And gentlest nymphs were *sturdy beggars* deem'd.

This night lov'd GEORGE'S free enlighten'd age
Bids ROYAL FAVOUR shield the Scottish stage;
HIS Royal Favour every bosom cheers;
The drama now with dignity appears!
Hard is my fate, if murmurings there be
Because that favour is announc'd by me.

ment. Boswell makes no mention of *British Essays in Favour of the Brave Corsicans* (*post*, pp. 76–84).

[1] 'Following winter' should be 'preceding winter' (Dec. 1767). This prologue appeared in most of the periodicals of the day. I have noted it in *Scots Mag.*, *Lond. Mag.*, *Lond. Chron.*, *Edin. Advt.*, *Pub. Advt.*, *Caled. Merc.*, and *Edin. Courant*.

Anxious, alarm'd, and aw'd by every frown,
May I entreat the candour of the TOWN:
You see me here by no unworthy art;
My ALL I venture where I've fix'd my heart.
Fondly ambitious of an honest fame,
My humble labours your indulgence claim;
I wish to hold no RIGHT but by YOUR *choice*;
I'll trust my *patent* to the PUBLICK VOICE.

The effect of it, aided by friends properly planted in different parts of the Theatre, was instantaneous and effectual; the tide was turned, the loudest plaudits were given, and Mr. Ross was allowed ever after to enjoy his patent with all its advantages.

[*To be continued.*]

[JUNE 1791]

MEMOIRS OF JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

(*Concluded from Page* 326.)

IN the year 1769 Mr. Boswell made a visit to Ireland, where he 404
spent six or seven weeks, chiefly at Dublin, and enjoyed the society of Lord Charlemont, Dr. Leland, Mr. Flood, Dr. Macbride, and other eminent persons of that kingdom, not forgetting the celebrated George Faulkner, the social though laughable friend of Dean Swift and Lord Chesterfield. Fortunately for him, Viscount (now Marquis) Townshend was then Lord Lieutenant, and the congeniality of their dispositions united them in the most pleasant manner.

Mr. Boswell had a very near relation (daughter of his granduncle General Cochrane, whose brother afterwards succeeded to the Earldom of Dundonald) who was married to Robert Sibthorpe, Esq. a gentleman of great consequence in the county of Down. This served as an introduction to much good society. But he was still more obliged in that respect to the Lady who accompanied him in this expedition, Miss Peggie Montgomerie, daughter of David Montgomerie, Esq. of Lanishaw, a branch of the noble House of Eglintoun and representative, as heir of line, of the ancient Peerage of Lyle. She was his cousin-german, and they had from their earliest years lived in the most intimate and unreserved friendship. His love of the fair-sex has been already mentioned, and she was the constant

yet prudent and delicate *confidante* of all his *egarements du cœur et de l'esprit.* Her very numerous and respectable relations in Ireland
405 shewed him every mark of | attention, so that he quitted that country with sincere regret. This jaunt was the occasion of Mr. Boswell's resolving at last to engage himself in that connection to which he had always declared himself averse. In short, he determined to become a married man. For having experienced for a considerable time, without intermission, how agreeable a companion his cousin was, and how much her excellent judgement and more sedate manners contributed to his happiness, he proposed to her that they should be companions for life, requesting, that she should do him the favour to accept of him with all his faults, with which she was perfectly acquainted; and though he had uniformly protested, that a large fortune was an indispensable requisite if he should ever marry, he was willing to waive that, in consideration of her peculiar merit. She, with a frankness of character for which she was remarkable, accepted of his offer; and this he has ever been heard to say was the most fortunate circumstance in his life.

Their marriage, it was agreed, should not take place till late in the year, that he might first have an opportunity to revisit his friends in London, and arrange various particulars. In this interval occurred the Jubilee in honour of Shakespeare, at Stratford-upon-Avon. Thither Mr. Boswell repaired, with all the enthusiasm of a poetical mind, and at the masquerade appeared in the character of an armed Corsican Chief; in which character there is in the London Magazine of that year a whole length print of him, from a drawing by Wale.[1] This exhibition is recorded in the Preface to the French Translation of Shakespeare.[2] Such an opportunity for the warbling of his Muse

[1] It serves as the frontispiece to the magazine for Sept. 1769.

[2] *Shakespeare, traduit de l'Anglois* [par Pierre Le Tourneur], Paris, 1776, i. xvii–xxxiii. Boswell is mentioned: 'un autre caractère qui fit aussi beaucoup de plaisir, fut celui qu'avoit emprunté M. Boswel, célèbre ami de Paoli: il vint habillé en montagnard de Corse, le couteau & les pistolets à sa ceinture, & le mousquet en bandouliere, & sur le devant de son bonnet on lisoit en lettres d'or *Paoli & liberté*' (p. xxxii). This furnishes a third variant of the famous inscription: the others are *Viva la Libertà* and *Corsica Boswell.* It is possible, I think, to explain the origin of all three. The motto Boswell really wore at Stratford was 'Viva la Libertà'. (See the engraving, and his own account in *Pub. Advt.*, Sept. 16, 1769 and *Lond. Mag.*, xxxviii. 451. There is plenty of other contemporary evidence.) But Garrick later gave a dramatic version of the Jubilee at Drury Lane; in this an actor impersonated Boswell and was identified for the populace by wearing on his cap the sign 'Corsica Boswell'. Le Tourneur, puzzled by finding both versions in his sources, and perhaps knowing that Boswell delighted in being called 'Paoli

was not neglected, and he wrote and printed at Stratford the following verses, in the character of a Corsican : [1]

From the rude banks of Golo's rapid flood,
Alas! too deeply ting'd with patriot blood;
O'er which, dejected, injur'd Freedom bends,
And sighs indignant o'er all Europe sends;
Behold a Corsican!—In better days,
Eager I sought my country's fame to raise;
When o'er our camp PAOLI'S banners wav'd,
And all the threats of hostile France we brav'd,
'Till, unassisted, a small nation fail'd,
And our invader's tenfold force prevail'd.
Now when I'm exil'd from my native land,
I come to join this classic festal band,
To sooth my soul on Avon's sacred stream,
And from your joy to catch a cheering gleam;
To celebrate great Shakespeare's wond'rous fame,
And add new trophies to the honour'd name
Of Nature's bard, whom tho' your country bore,
His influence spreads to ev'ry distant shore:
Wherever genuine feeling souls are found,
His "wood-notes wild" with extasy resound.
Had Shakespeare liv'd our story to relate,
And hold his torch o'er our unhappy fate;
Liv'd with majestic energy to tell
How long we fought, what heroes nobly fell!
Had Garrick, whom Dame Nature's pencil stole,
Just where Old Shakespeare dropt it, when his soul
Broke from its earthly cage aloft to fly
To the eternal world of harmony—
Had Garrick shewn us on the tragic scene,
With Fame embalm'd our deeds of death had been:
If from his eyes had flash'd the Corsic fire,
Men less had gaz'd to pity—than admire.
O happy Britons! on whose favour'd isle
Propitious Freedom ever deigns to smile,
Whose fame is wafted on triumphant gales,
Where thunders War, or Commerce spreads her sails,
I come not hither sadly to complain,
Or damp your mirth with melancholy strain;
In man's firm breast conceal'd the grief should lie,
Which melts with grace in woman's gentle eye; [2]

Boswell', invented the third version himself. See J. Nichols, *Illust. Lit. Hist.*, i. 86, and *post*, p. 229. Macaulay gave currency to 'Corsica Boswell' (Review of Croker), but he certainly did not invent it.

[1] See *post*, pp. 84–5. No copy of this work seems to have been reported until 1927.

[2] *Fœminis lugere honestum est; Viris meminisse.* Tacitus. BOSWELL.

But let me plead for Liberty distrest,
And warm for her each sympathetic breast:
Amidst the splendid honours which you bear,
To save a sister island be your care:
With generous ardour make *us* also free,
And give to Corsica a noble Jubilee!

On the 25th November 1769 he was married to Miss Montgomery, a woman who contributed greatly to his happiness. With admirable sense, affection, and generosity of heart, she possessed no common share of wit and pleasantry. One of her bons mots is mentioned in Mr. Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson.[1] Thinking that the rough Philosopher had too much influence over her husband, she said, with some warmth, "I have seen many a bear led by a man, but I never before saw a man led by a bear." Once, when Mr. Boswell was mounted upon a horse which he had brought pretty low by *riding the county* (as it is called) for an election, and was boasting that he
406 was a horse of *blood*, "I hope so," said she, "for I am sure he has no *flesh*." Mr. Boswell has a collection of her good sayings under the title of *Uxoriana*.[2]

He continued at the Scotch bar, with occasional, and indeed generally annual, visits to London, for many years, as his father was averse to his settling in the metropolis. But *there* his heart was fixed, and we shall see that he in time yielded to his inclination.

In 1781, when Mr. Burke was in power, that celebrated Gentleman shewed his sense of Mr. Boswell's merit in the warmest manner, observing, "We must do something for you for our own sakes," and recommended him to General Conway for a vacant place, by a letter in which his character was drawn in glowing colours. The place was not obtained; but Mr. Boswell declared, that he valued the letter more.

In 1782, by the death of my Lord, his father, he succeeded to the estate of Auchinlech.[3]

In 1783, when the extraordinary *Coalition* of heterogeneous parties took place, and Mr. Fox's East-India Bill had been thrown out, and the country was in a ferment as to the monarchical part of our Constitution, Mr. Boswell was very active and very successful in obtaining Addresses to his Majesty, and published "A Letter to the People of

[1] *Life*, ii. 269 n.

[2] Four anecdotes with this heading are printed in the Rev. C. Rogers's *Boswelliana*, p. 329.

[3] Evidently a misprint, for the name is correctly spelled on pp. 323 and 324.

Scotland on the present State of the Nation,"[1] which had much effect, and of which Mr. Pitt, then and still Prime Minister, thus expressed himself, in a Letter to Mr. Boswell: "I have observed with great pleasure your zealous and able exertions in the cause of the public in the work which you were so good as to transmit to me."

In 1785, an attempt having been made to diminish the number of the fifteen Lords of Session in Scotland, Mr. Boswell, considering this as a violation of the Articles of the Union, and besides a very pernicious measure, wrote on this occasion another "Letter to the People of Scotland;"[2] which was so persuasive and forcible, that many of the counties of North Britain assembled, and entered into such resolutions against the scheme, that it was given up.

In 1785 Mr. Boswell published a "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.;"[3] a work so well known, and so successful, that it is unnecessary to say any thing of it.

He had at an early period entered himself as a student of the Inner Temple, and from time to time kept his terms; and having no longer the fear of displeasing his father, he determined to try his fortune in Westminster-hall, and was called to the bar in Hilary Term 1786. The following winter he removed his family to London.

His ambitious resolution to try his fortune in the great world of London was thus sanctioned by a letter to him from Dr. Samuel Johnson, which exhibits at once a cautious and encouraging view of it.

"I remember, and intreat you to remember, that *virtus est vitium fugere*; the first approach to riches is security from poverty. The condition upon which you have my consent to settle in London is, that your expence never exceeds your annual income. Fixing this basis of security you cannot be hurt, and you may be very much advanced. The loss of your Scottish business, which is all you can lose, is not to be reckoned as any equivalent to the hopes and possibilities that open here upon you. If you succeed, the question of prudence is at an end; every body will think that done right which ends happily; and though your expectations, of which I would

[1] See *post*, pp. 105–8. He omits all mention of his preface for Donaldson's *Shakespeare*, *Reflections on the late alarming Bankruptcies in Scotland*, *The Decision of the Court of Session upon the Question of Literary Property*, and *A Letter to Lord Braxfield* (*post*, pp. 86–105).

[2] See *post*, pp. 108–12.

[3] See *post*, pp. 112–31. No mention is made of the *Ode by Dr. Samuel Johnson to Mrs. Thrale*.

not advise you to talk too much, should not be totally answered, you can hardly fail to get friends who will do for you all that your present situation allows you to hope: and if after a few years you should return to Scotland, you will return with a mind supplied by various conversations, and many opportunities of enquiry, with much knowledge and materials for reflection and instruction."

Mr. Boswell had not been long at the English bar when he was elected Recorder of the ancient city of Carlisle, and soon after his learned and respectable countryman Dr. John Douglas was appointed Bishop of the Diocese. These two promotions gave occasion to the following epigram :[1]

> "Of old, ere wise Concord united this Isle,
> "Our neighbours of Scotland were foes at Carlisle;
> "But now what a change have we here on the border,
> "When Douglas is Bishop and Boswell Recorder."

Finding this Recordership, at so great a distance from London, attended with many inconveniencies, Mr. Boswell, after holding it for about two years, resigned it.

407 It was generally supposed, that Mr. | Boswell would have had a seat in Parliament; and indeed his not being amongst the Representatives of the Commons is one of those strange things which occasionally happen in the complex operations of our mixed Government. That he has not been *brought into Parliament* (as the phrase is) by some of our great men, is not to be wondered at, when we peruse his public declaration in his "Letter to the People of Scotland," in 1785. "Though ambitious, I am uncorrupted; and I envy not high situations which are attained by the want of public virtue in men born without it, or by the prostitution of public virtue in men born with it. Though power, and wealth, and magnificence, may at first dazzle, and are, I think, most desirable; no wise man will, upon sober reflection, envy a situation which he feels he could not enjoy. My friend (my *Mæcenas Atavis edite regibus*) Lord Mountstuart flattered me once very highly without intending it.—"I would do any thing for you (said he) but bring you into Parliament; for I could not be sure but you might oppose me in something the very next day.—His Lordship judged well. Though I should consider, with much attention, the opinion of such a friend—before taking my resolution;—most certainly I should oppose him in any measure

[1] Boswell probably wrote this himself. It was almost certainly published in some newspaper or magazine, but I have never come across it elsewhere.

which I was satisfied ought to be opposed. I cannot exist with pleasure, if I have not an honest independence of mind and of conduct; for though no man loves good eating and drinking, simply considered, better than I do—I prefer the broiled blade-bone of mutton and humble port of "downright Shippen," to all the luxury of all the statesmen who play the political game all through."[1]

He offered himself as a candidate, at the last General Election, to represent Ayrshire, his own county, of which his is one of the oldest families, and where he has a very extensive property and a very fine place, of part of which there is a view and description in Grose's "Antiquities of Scotland."[2] But the power of the Minister for Scotland was exerted for another person, and some of those whose support he might reasonably have expected could not withstand its influence; he therefore declined giving his friends the trouble of appearing for him; but has declared his resolution to persevere on the next vacancy.

Upon all occasions he has avowed himself to be a steady Royalist; nay, has had the courage to assume the title of *Tory*, protesting, that since his present most gracious Majesty's generous plan of annihilating the distinction of political parties has been frustrated, and there are some who keep up the cant appellation of *Whigs*, the true friends to the constitution in Church and State should meet them with the opposite name, as *Tories*. Mr. Boswell, however, in the pamphlet just quoted, thus liberally writes: "I can drink, I can laugh, I can converse, in perfect good humour, with Whigs, with Republicans, with Dissenters, with Independents, with Quakers, with Moravians, with Jews. They can do me no harm. My mind is made up. My principles are fixed. But I would vote with Tories, and pray with a Dean and Chapter."[3]

In 1789 Mr. Boswell experienced a most severe affliction in the loss of his valuable wife, who died at Auchinlech[4] on the 4th of June that year, leaving him five children; two sons, Alexander, now at Eton, and James, at Westminster School; and three daughters, Veronica, Euphemia, and Elizabeth. This melancholy event affected him very much; for it deprived him of the woman he loved, and the friend he could trust. He had recourse to piety for relief; but his

[1] Pp. 92–4.

[2] Francis Grose, *The Antiquities of Scotland*, London, 1797, ii. 43. I have not seen the first edition (1789–91), but the illustrations in both seem to be from the same plates. Boswell is said to be 'well known to the public by diverse publications'.

[3] P. 95.

[4] See *ante*, p. xl, n. 3.

expression of what he felt was, "There is a wound which never can be entirely healed. I may have many *gratifications*, but I fear the *comfort* of life is over."

He however did not resign himself to unavailing grief, but endeavoured to dissipate his melancholy by occupation and amusement in the metropolis, in which he enjoys perhaps as extensive and varied an acquaintance as any man of his time. We find him at least extremely gay, and occasionally exercising his poetical talents. At the last Lord-Mayor's Day's festal board he sung with great applause a State Ballad of his own composition, entitled, "*The Grocer of London*,"[1] in praise of Mr. Pitt's conduct in the dispute with Spain, a Convention being just then announced. He is generally believed to be the Author of a Poem of some length, entitled, "*No Abolition of Slavery*; *or*, *The Universal Empire of Love*,"[2] which came out while the Slave Trade Bill was depending in Parliament. But his attention to the business of Westminster-Hall has been chiefly interrupted by his great literary work in which he was engaged for many years, "*The Life of Dr. Johnson*,"[3] which he has at last published, in two volumes quarto, and which has been received by the world with extraordinary approbation. In our next and subsequent Numbers we shall give a review of this very instructive and entertaining piece of biography.

[1] See *post*, pp. 141–4.

[2] See *post*, pp. 144–8. From the first Boswell made no secret of his authorship of this poem, and seems to have been proud of it.

[3] See *post*, pp. 148–212. He naturally makes no mention of the two offprints (*post*, pp. 134–41). For references to the promised review of the *Life* see *post*, p. 311.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS IN PROSE AND VERSE OF JAMES BOSWELL.

PART I

EDITIONES PRINCIPES; BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, BROADSIDES.

THE aim of this bibliography is to present, with the exception of one class of writings, a complete and detailed list of all the publications in prose and verse of James Boswell. After considerable deliberation, I have excluded the numerous memorials or briefs which he had printed as part of the routine of his legal practice, since these papers never were really published, and they are in no sense literary documents. Moreover, I am assured by competent authority that Boswell's part in many of them amounted probably to no more than the signature, for it was the usual practice for an advocate's clerk to prepare the greater part of such briefs. So far as I know, I have omitted no other publication by Boswell previously known, or discoverable by reasonable research. Perhaps the list of books and pamphlets will not be much extended in the future, though there are undoubtedly gaps in it, both as to undiscovered works and overlooked editions. The list of periodical publications, while surprisingly long, is also more or less incomplete; first, because of the difficulty of obtaining access to complete files of all the newspapers and magazines to which Boswell may have contributed, and, secondly, because of the impossibility of searching minutely all this mass of material, even if it could be assembled. But as it stands, this list of Boswell's publications in periodicals is more extensive than any yet compiled for an eighteenth-century author, and contains within it clues for considerable expansion as time and opportunity offer.

In this section I have included works separately published which I consider unquestionably by Boswell and of which

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copies are known to exist. Periodical, doubtful, spurious, and projected works follow in succeeding sections. I have thought it less confusing to present here those works in which Boswell had a hand, without being the sole, or even the main, author, such as the *Original Poems by Scotch Gentlemen*, the *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*, and *British Essays in Favour of the Brave Corsicans*. The list of copies at the end of each collation by no means represents an attempt to make a complete census of all copies known, but merely indicates a few accessible to scholars. As a rule I have not mentioned copies owned by private collectors. The information as to original wrappers or bindings is often more or less conjectural. Many of Boswell's pamphlets are excessively rare, and some are preserved only in public libraries, where they have invariably been stripped of their original wrappers, trimmed, and bound, either separately or in combination with other pamphlets. But careful examination of these library copies reveals much, and the newspaper advertisements, when discoverable, usually give a clue. A small work simply advertised as 'price 1*s.* 6*d.*' seems to have been issued 'stabbed', without wrapper or binding of any sort; works advertised as 'sewed' were issued in paper wrappers; books in boards were so advertised, and books 'bound' were full-bound in calf. The dimensions given are those of uncut copies only when it is so stated. In each case I have given the dimensions of the largest copy I have seen, but I have very seldom found totally uncut copies of the rarer pamphlets.

1. Observations on the Minor. 1760

Observations, | Good or Bad, | Stupid or Clever, | Serious or Jocular, | on | Squire Foote's | Dramatic Entertainment, | intitled, | The Minor. | By a Genius. | Audire, atque togam jubeo deponere, quisquis | Ambitione mala, aut argenti pallet amore. Hor. | Edinburgh: | Printed in the Year MDCCLX. | Sold at all the Coffeehouses. | [Price Three Pence.]

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. 15; consisting of: Half-title, 'Observations | on the | Minor.' (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [3–4];

OBSERVATIONS,

GOOD OR BAD,
STUPID OR CLEVER,
SERIOUS OR JOCULAR,

ON

Squire FOOTE's
DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT,

INTITLED,

The MINOR.

By a GENIUS.

Audire, atque togam jubeo deponere, *quisquis*
Ambitione mala, aut argenti pallet amore. HOR.

EDINBURGH:
Printed in the Year MDCCLX.
Sold at all the Coffeehouſes.
[Price Three Pence.]

Text of *Observations*, pp. [5]–15. There are no headlines, the pages from 6 to 15 being numbered in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. There are catchwords throughout. The signatures are [A] and B (two half-sheets, each 4 leaves).

Issued 'stabbed', without wrapper. There is a copy in the New York Public Library, lacking the half-title, and a complete copy in the Signet Library, Edinburgh. The pages of the latter (which have been slightly trimmed) measure $8\frac{1}{4}$ by 5 inches. See the general notes following no. 2.

2. *Second Edition*, 1760 (dated 1761)

Collation:—This is identical with the first in every respect except the imprint. In fact, it follows the first edition so closely as to be practically a facsimile. The imprint is 'London; | Printed for J. Wilkie, at the Bible in | St. Paul's Church-Yard. | MDCCLXI. | [Price Three Pence].' Were the title-page lost, it could be distinguished from the first edition by the frequent broken dashes, the use of periods after the contractions 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.', and two misprints, 'Princes' for 'Princess', p. 7, l. 10, and 'msmic' for 'mimic', p. 15, l. 2.

The price of this second edition was actually fourpence, the printed 'three' having been crossed out with ink, and '4' written in above the line in all the copies I have examined. The reviews all give the price as fourpence. There are copies in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and two in the Boston Public Library. The Yale University Library has a rotograph copy available for loan. The leaves of one of the Boston copies measure 8 by 5 inches.

This pamphlet, which is the first of Boswell's separate publications for which the authorship is certainly established, appeared shortly after his twentieth birthday, and is advertised in *Scots Mag.*, Nov. 1760 (xxii. 614) under 'Books published in Edinburgh', but without a publisher's name. The *Scots Magazine* for any month did not appear until about the middle of the month following. The second edition, although dated 1761, was actually on sale in London before the end of December 1760, for it is reviewed in the *Monthly Review* for that month (xxiii. 524), and this number of the review was on sale by 3 Jan. 1761 (*Lond. Chron.*, ix. 16). The two editions are printed on paper bearing the same water-mark, and the type, though re-set, seems to be the same. Both were, therefore, probably printed in Edinburgh at the same press—possibly Alexander Donaldson's.

Boswell's authorship is established by a note made by himself in a copy formerly preserved in the Auchinleck Library: 'This was an idle performance, and written inconsiderately, for I disapprove much of The Minor as having a profane and illiberal tendency' (Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge, *Catalogue of the Sale of the Auchinleck Library, June 23, 1893*, Lot 59). The pamphlet is a rather strained imitation of the style of Sterne, with whom Boswell had been on terms of intimacy in London during the preceding spring. He had not actually seen *The Minor* presented, as he must have left town a month or more before the first performance, which occurred in the second week of July 1760. He seems rather to have been attracted to the subject merely by the notoriety which the play had received and the amount of controversy it was causing, his pamphlet being one of at least nine on the subject which appeared between July 1760 and January 1761. His more mature judgement caused him to disapprove of the performance and to do his best to suppress his connexion with it.

3. Elegy on the Death of an Amiable Young Lady. 1761

An | Elegy | on | The Death | of | An amiable Young Lady. | With | An Epistle from Menalcas to Lycidas [*sic: it should be* 'Lycidas to Menalcas']. | To which are prefixed, | Three Critical Recommendatory Letters. | Edinburgh: | Printed by A. Donaldson and J. Reid. | For Alex. Donaldson. | MDCCLXI.

Collation:—Quarto, printed in half-sheets, pp. 24; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; *Advertisement* (with blank reverse), pp. [3–4]; Text of 'Recommendatory Letters', pp. [5]–18; Letter *To the Editor of the Scottish Poems*, followed by Text of *Elegy* and *Epistles*, pp. 19–24. There are no headlines, the pages from 6 to 24 being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. The signatures are [A] to F (six half-sheets, each 2 leaves). The pamphlet had no Half-title.

Apparently issued 'stabbed' and without wrapper. The leaves of the copy in the British Museum measure $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The published price was sixpence. There are copies in the British Museum, the National Library of Scotland, the Signet Library, and a rotograph copy (available for loan) in the library of Yale University.

These two pieces were sent by Boswell to Alexander Donaldson on 28 July 1761, for inclusion in the second volume of Donaldson's

Original Poems by Scotch Gentlemen. (See *post*, p. 12.) Donaldson apparently submitted them to the Hon. Andrew Erskine, who had helped him with the first volume. Erskine probably thought the verses too bad for printing in the collection, but, as he did not wish to hurt Boswell's feelings (the two youths having recently struck up a friendship), he suggested that they be printed as burlesques with 'recommendatory letters' by himself and George Dempster, M.P., a third friend. Boswell fell in with the scheme, and even improved upon it by adding a recommendatory letter of his own. However, he also printed his original letter to Donaldson so that there might be no doubt about the authorship. The pamphlet is advertised in *Scots Mag.*, Aug. 1761 (xxiii. 425), and probably appeared in that month.

It is not certain who the persons mentioned in these two pieces were. Boswell's letter to Donaldson is dated from Strathaven. It may be that the 'amiable young lady' was a Miss Katy Young, daughter of James Young of Netherfield, who is reported to have died at the age of nineteen on 1 July 1761 (*Scots Mag.*, xxiii. 391). Netherfield is a seat a mile and a half from Strathaven. I have not been able to identify Menalcas, who seems to have been a close friend of Boswell. He himself is Lycidas.

The poems are much less important than the recommendatory letters, which occupy the greater part of the pamphlet. These are really the starting point of the literary correspondence with Erskine, of which the first letter is dated in this month. The book is also important as including Boswell's first poems to be separately published, and as being the first of his works to bear Donaldson's imprint.

4. Ode to Tragedy. 1761

An | Ode | to | Tragedy. | By a Gentleman of Scotland. | Edinburgh: | Printed by A. Donaldson and J. Reid. | For Alex. Donaldson. | MDCLXI. [*sic*] | [Price Six Pence.]

Collation:—Quarto, printed in half-sheets, pp. 12; consisting of: Title-page, as above, p. [1]; Dedication *To James Boswell, Esq;*, pp. [2]–4; Text of *Ode* (sixteen stanzas, two to a page, numbered with roman numerals), pp. [5]–12. There are no headlines, the pages from 3 to 12 (excepting 5) being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between round brackets. The signatures are [A] to C (three half-sheets, each 2 leaves). The pamphlet had no Half-title.

AN ELEGY ON THE DEATH OF An amiable YOUNG LADY.

WITH

An Epiſtle from MENALCAS to LYCIDAS.

To which are prefixed,

Three Critical Recommendatory LETTERS,

by James Boswell.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by A. DONALDSON and J. REID,
For ALEX. DONALDSON,
MDCCLXI.

Issued 'stabbed', (apparently) without wrapper. The leaves of the copy in the British Museum measure $8\frac{3}{16}$ by $6\frac{3}{8}$ inches. There are also copies in the Bodleian, the National Library of Scotland, the Signet Library, the Library of the University of Edinburgh, the Johnson Birthplace at Lichfield, and a rotograph copy (available for loan) in the Library of Yale University.

The details of the composition and publication of this piece may be found with sufficient fullness in the Erskine Correspondence. On 10 Oct. 1761 Boswell tells Erskine that he has been reading Churchill's *Rosciad*. The reading of Churchill seems to have suggested to him the writing of a pair of odes on comedy and tragedy, to be published in pamphlet form like the *Elegy on an Amiable Young Lady*. The *Ode to Comedy* was never finished; all that Boswell wrote of it may be found in the Bodleian MS. of his poems (Douce MS. 193).

The *Ode to Tragedy* was advertised in *Scots Mag.*, Nov. 1761 (xxiii. 598), but, as Erskine on 13 Dec. had only just seen it advertised in the newspapers, it is probable that it was published early in the latter month.

This piece has drawn more attention than most of Boswell's minor works because of the pseudonym and the genial dedication of the piece to himself. This does not seem to me to have been done to conceal the identity of the author. It is impossible to read the dedication and doubt that 'James Boswell' and 'A Gentleman of Scotland' are the same person. He had used the pseudonym in the *Scots Magazine* shortly before on a letter that must instantly have been recognized as his. (See *post*, p. 216.) In the dedication of the *Ode* he refers specifically to that letter. Moreover, the dedication is an avowed imitation of Adam Fitzadam's (Edward Moore's) dedication of the sixth volume of *The World* to himself so recently as 1757.

The *Ode to Tragedy* was written under the poetic influence of Mason and Gray, and is a rather colourless contribution to the controversy then raging between the 'classicists' in drama, Hurd, Mason, and Francklin, and the 'romanticists', ably represented by Robert Lloyd and Churchill. In the main, Boswell upheld the latter group.

A N

O D E

T O

T R A G E D Y.

By a GENTLEMAN of SCOTLAND.

James Boswell Esqr

EDINBURGH:
Printed by A. DONALDSON and J. REID.
For ALEX. DONALDSON.
MDCLXI..

[Price SIX PENCE.]

5. Original Poems by Scotch Gentlemen. 1762

A | Collection | of | Original Poems. | By Scotch Gentlemen. | Volume II. | Edinburgh: | Printed by A. Donaldson and J. Reid. | For A. Donaldson. | Sold by R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, and | J. Richardson in Pater-noster-row, London. | MDCCLXII.

Collation:—Duodecimo, printed in half-sheets, pp. viii + 232; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; *Advertisement*, followed by *Corrigenda* to the First Volume, pp. [iii]–iv; Table of *Contents*, pp. [v]–viii; Text of *A Collection*, etc., pp. [1]–232. There are headlines throughout, each verso being headed *A Collection* and each recto *Of Original Poems*. The signatures are A to T (nineteen half-sheets, each 6 leaves), plus U (2 leaves), the whole preceded by four leaves carrying the Title-page, *Advertisement*, and *Contents*. D 4 (pp. 43–4) is a cancel. It was clearly made to add on p. 43 at the end of Erskine's satirical ballad on W^m^. Nairne a four-line reply by Nairne himself. Erskine knew nothing of this until the book appeared: 'I was much pleased with N——'s lines; how did he get them inserted?' (Erskine Corresp., p. 83). S 4 and S 5 (pp. 211–14) are also cancels, the stitching appearing abnormally between these leaves (which should not be conjugate), and the stubs of the originals showing after S 5. This cancel is most interesting, for it comes at the exact end of Boswell's contributions, and hence raises the question whether some poem of his has been deleted. The book appears to have been issued without a Half-title, the watermarks showing that the four preliminary leaves might be those missing from U. The presence of the cancel-leaves, however, makes this somewhat uncertain. If there were a half-title, it must have been pasted on, for of the preliminary leaves the second is signed a2, and the stitching appears between the second and third.

Issued 'sewed', probably with wrappers. All the copies I have seen are full bound in calf. The published price was 2*s.* 6*d.* 'sewed'. In 1767 Donaldson was still selling both volumes for 5*s.* bound or 4*s.* sewed (*Edin. Advt.* for that year, *passim*). The pages of the copy in the British Museum, which have been trimmed, measure $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{15}{16}$ inches. There is also a copy in the Library of the University of Edinburgh.

A

COLLECTION

OF

ORIGINAL POEMS.

By Scotch Gentlemen.

VOLUME II.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by A. Donaldson and J. Reid.
For A. Donaldson.
Sold by R. and J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, and
J. Richardson in Pater-noſter-row, *London*.
MDCCLXII.

The first volume of this collection (which was entitled 'A Collection of Original Poems by the Rev. Mr. Blacklock and other Scotch Gentlemen') was published in October 1760. Donaldson hoped to duplicate the success of Robert Dodsley's *Collection of Poems by Several Hands* (first edition 1748), and planned to bring out three volumes in all. Instead of publishing all three at once, he issued them separately in order to test their popularity. The reception was so lacking in cordiality that he never issued the third volume.

Boswell made no contributions to the first volume. The most important contributor was the blind poet, Thomas Blacklock; besides his, there were pieces by James Beattie, James Macpherson, Gilbert Gordon (a friend of Blacklock's), the Rev. Robert Colvill of Dysart (a boyhood friend of Boswell's), Robert Scott (a soldier who issued a volume of poems in 1767), the Hon. Andrew Erskine, and others. Boswell first met Erskine in May 1761, at Fort George, and may have been encouraged by him to contribute to the second volume, then preparing for the press. He first sent in the *Elegy on an Amiable Young Lady* and the *Epistle from Lycidas to Menalcas*, as we have seen, and on 17 Nov. we find from the Erskine Correspondence that he had given Donaldson several more poems. When Donaldson ran short of copy towards the end of the book Boswell obliged him with two hundred lines more (Erskine Corresp., p. 71). In his letter of 22 Jan. 1762 (a Friday) Boswell says that the book was to appear 'next week'. It is listed in *Scots Mag.* for January (xxiv. 42), and Erskine had certainly read it before 7 Feb. (Erskine Corresp., p. 75).

It has been said that Erskine was not only a contributor to the first volume but also the actual editor, and that Boswell took over some of his duties in preparing the second volume because of Erskine's distance from the press. This does not seem to have been the case. Donaldson was undoubtedly the editor of both volumes so far as they had an editor, but he seems to have asked Erskine's opinion on much of the material. Boswell's editorial connexion with the second volume consisted merely in correcting the proofs; a task which Erskine said he bungled (Erskine Corresp., pp. 19–20, 75).

Erskine and Boswell were by far the most considerable contributors to the volume, their poems together occupying ninety-five pages out of a total of 232. Some of the other contributors were William Nairne (later Sir William and Lord Dunsinane), Lauchlan Macpherson (friend and kinsman of James Macpherson), George Dempster, Jerom Stone of Dunkeld, William Julius Mickle, John Home, John Ogilvie, James

Beattie, James Macpherson, Robert Scott, Francis Douglas of Aberdeen, John Maclaurin (later Lord Dreghorn), and David Rae (later a baronet and Lord Eskgrove).

Boswell's contributions to the *Original Poems* have no intrinsic merit whatever. In spite of this fact, the book is of great importance in his literary biography. By means of it we are able to identify his earliest publications—the poems in the *Scots Magazine*—which are here reprinted. His interest in the *Original Poems* also led indirectly to the publication of the *Elegy on an Amiable Young Lady*, the *Ode to Tragedy*, and (probably) the Erskine Correspondence. None of the poems here listed is without valuable hints for writing the biography of Boswell during this period, and the material so furnished will be sought in vain elsewhere.

Contributions to this Volume by Boswell. Page

1. ? Advertisement . . . . . [iii]
2. An Evening Walk in the Abbey Church of Holyroodhouse. [*Such is the present time; now sober eve*] . . . 68
(Previously printed (with some textual variations) in *Scots Mag.*, Aug. 1758 (xx. 420).)
3. Epigram [*Brisk Nell, t'other day, (not suspecting a crime)*] . 70
4. To the Countess of Galloway, on the Death of her Son the Honourable George Stewart, Esq; killed at Ticonderoga. [*Whilst hapless Caledonia, bath'd in tears*] . . 71
5. Ode on the Death of Marshal Keith. [*Melpomene, divine, Saturnian maid!*] 72
6. Epigram on hearing that Mr. Theophilus Cibber, Comedian, was drowned in his passage to Ireland. ['*Twas hard indeed, 'twas wondrous hard*] 74
(Previously published in *Scots Mag.*, Nov. 1758 (xx. 587).)
7. On the Contest between the Author of an Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times and the Writers in opposition to him. A Simile. [*So, when a tender stripling, have I seen*] 74
8. On hearing that Mr. Digges and Mrs. Ward were lost in the Irish seas. A Fantastical Essay. [*Dost thou behold, my soul, with wild surprise*] 75
9. On hearing that the Report was false. [*Thanks be to heaven, the mournful tale is vain*] 77

10. An Epistle to Mr. Digges. [*Apollo's self might well inspire*] 77
11. Epigram. [*An ox and ass together yok'd*] . . . 79
(Previously published in *Scots Mag.*, Dec. 1758 (xx. 623).)
12. To a Friend, with the present of a Book. [*Friendship, I've always thought, resembles love*] 80
13. Epigram to a young Lady, on being favoured with a Sight of her Drawings. [*In vain, lovely creature! you show me your art*] 80
14. To Miss Kitty C——. [*Kitty, think, though every grace*] . 81
15. To the Author of the foregoing Verses. [*Happy bard, who without fear*] 82
16. Epigram. [*Jack Bluster, a comical jolly old boy*] . . 83
17. Epigram. [*A hard-hearted wretch thus derided his wife*] . 83
18. Song. [*You tell me, dear Tom, like a faint-hearted toad*] . 84
19. Verses on Lord Warkworth's going a Volunteer to Germany, 1760. [*While Britain, to subdue the pride of France*] . 85
20. Epitaph on the Rev. Mr. John Campbell, Minister at Rickarton. [*In quiet peaceful silence here repose*] . . 86
(Previously published in *Scots Mag.*, April 1761 (xxiii. 204).)
21. Currant-Jelly. A Poem. [*Minerva, queen of Science and of Art*] 88
22. B——. A Song. [*B——, of Soapers the king*] . . . 90
23. An Epistle from a London Buck to his Friend. [*When last, dear Dick, we jovial met*] 92
24. The Race. An Heroic Ballad. Addressed to the Honourable Company of Scots Hunters. [*Ye frolicsome blades, who through life rove along*] 101
25. To Gluttony. An Ode. In Imitation of Midnight, an Ode. [*Hail Gluttony! O let me eat*] 106
26. The Dunce and his Pen. A Fable. ['*Tis strange to think how oft we meet*] 202
27. The Lion, the Fox, and the Bull. A Fable. To a certain Politician. [*If one should quote the counsel grave*] . . 206
28. Epigram. [*I would have you to know, Sir, though now you despise*] 209
29. Epigram. [*Who will say, that adorable Kitty hates me*] . 209
30. Epigram. [*Says a writer genteel, of high genius and taste*] . 210
31. Epigram. [*Sure he's a blockhead and an ass*] . . 210

THE

CUB,

AT

NEW-MARKET:

A TALE.

LONDON,
Printed for R. and J. DODSLEY, in *Pall-Mall.* MDCCLXII.

6. The Cub at Newmarket. 1762

The | Cub, | at | New-Market: | A Tale. | [*Printer's Ornament*] | London, | Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall. MDCCLXII.

Collation:—Quarto, pp. 24; consisting of: Half-title, 'The | Cub, | at | New-Market. | [Price One Shilling.]' (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [3–4]; Dedication *To His Royal Highness Edward Duke of York.*, pp. [5–6]; *Preface*, pp. [7–9]; Text of *The Cub*, pp. [11]–24. P. 10 is a blank, and pp. 6, 8, and 9 are actually numbered vi, viii, and ix. There are no headlines, the pages indicated above being numbered centrally in roman numerals, those from 12 to 24 in arabic numerals, in each case placed between square brackets. There are catch-words throughout, except on p. 6. There is an elaborate ornamental head-piece before the *Preface*, p. 7. The signatures are [A] to C (three sheets, each 4 leaves).

This pamphlet was, according to Boswell's instructions, printed very elegantly on fine paper with large, clear type. It was issued stitched, (probably) without wrapper. The leaves of the copy in the British Museum (which have been slightly trimmed) measure 10 by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. There is also a copy in the Johnson Birthplace at Lichfield, and a rotograph copy (available for loan) in the Library of Yale University.

The *Cub at Newmarket* was published in March 1762. The earliest advertisement I have been able to find is in *Lond. Chron.*, 11 March (xi. 240). Mr. Ralph Straus in his *Robert Dodsley, Poet, Publisher and Playwright* (p. 376) gives the date of publication as March 4. The poem, however, was written a full two years earlier, and antedates in composition both the *Elegy on an Amiable Young Lady* and the *Ode to Tragedy*. It is a product of Boswell's first trip to London in the spring of 1760, whither (according to a rather doubtful tradition) he had run away from Glasgow University. In London he was taken under the protection of the Earl of Eglinton, and by that nobleman carried to the spring meeting at Newmarket, where he was made a member of the Jockey Club. If we can trust his Preface, he wrote the poem in the coffee-room, to commemorate a 'whimsical adventure' which befell him there.

The *Cub* is (like *Observations on the Minor*) an attempt in the Shandean style. Boswell was probably already intimate with Sterne;

CRITICAL

STRICTURES

ON THE

New TRAGEDY

OF

ELVIRA,

WRITTEN BY

Mr. DAVID MALLOCH.

LONDON:

Printed for W. FLEXNEY, near Gray's-Inn, Holborn.

MDCCLXIII.

at any rate, was infatuated with his book and his personality. The poem is dedicated to the Duke of York, a young man of about Boswell's own age, with whom Eglinton was especially intimate, and who seems to have paid very flattering attentions to Boswell. (See 'Bozzy and Yorick', *Blackwood's Magazine*, March 1925.) Boswell says in his dedication that he had been invited to read the poem in manuscript to the prince. In his unpublished 'Epistle to Shandy' in the Bodleian manuscript he speaks also of holding up Sterne in the Mall to read it to him.

Before leaving town in May 1760 he perhaps made an attempt to get the poem published. Writing on 1 Nov. 1761, Erskine asks him whether Dodsley is to publish the *Cub* or not. Boswell replies (Erskine Corresp., p. 20) that the manuscript is with Dodsley, and that the book ought soon to make its appearance. However, Dodsley seemed unwilling to proceed, and on 10 Feb. 1762 Boswell wrote to a London printer, presumably William Bowyer, to get the MS. and print it at once at his expense, with Dodsley as publisher (*Letters*, i. 9). The statement sometimes made, that Dodsley was Boswell's first publisher in London, is incorrect, as *Observations on the Minor* with Wilkie's imprint preceded it by more than a year.

7. Critical Strictures on Elvira. 1763

Critical | Strictures | on the | New Tragedy | of | Elvira, | written by | Mr. David Malloch. | [*Printer's Ornament*] | London: | Printed for W. Flexney, near Gray's-Inn, Holborn. | MDCCLXIII.

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. 24; consisting of: Half-title, 'Critical | Strictures | on the | New Tragedy | of | Elvira. | (Price Sixpence.)' (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [3–4]; *Advertisement* (with blank reverse), pp. [5–6]; Text of *Critical Strictures*, pp. 7–24. There is a printer's ornament below 'Finis' on p. 24. There are no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally in arabic numerals, those from 7 to 18 being placed between square, those from 19 to 24 between round, brackets. The signatures are [B] to D (three half-sheets, each 4 leaves).

Apparently issued 'stabbed', without wrapper. Mr. John T. Snyder of Pelham Manor, N. Y., has in his possession a copy which once

belonged to Isaac Reed, the leaves of which (untrimmed) measure $8\frac{9}{16}$ by $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches. I know of but one other copy, that in the Harvard College Library.

This, one of the very rarest of Boswell's known works, was published towards the end of January 1763. I have found no advertisement, but the *St. James's Chronicle* for 1 February printed an abridged text of the entire pamphlet as having just appeared.

We learn from the *Life of Johnson* (i. 408-9) that Boswell, Andrew Erskine, and George Dempster collaborated in writing *Critical Strictures*. Boswell had been in London since the end of November with the idea of joining the Guards. Dempster was there in his capacity of M.P. They were joined by Erskine, who seems to have run away from his military duties. On 19 Jan. 1763 David Mallet, 'alias Malloch', 'the only Scot whom Scotchmen did not commend', brought out *Elvira* at Drury Lane. The play was hardly more than an adaptation of La Motte's French tragedy *Inès de Castro* (1723), but it was thought by the public of 1763 to contain certain political allusions to the Seven Years' War, then just concluded. It was fairly successful, but was liberally abused in the periodicals of the day, and was so unfortunate as to coincide with the 'half-price' riots in the theatres. (See Genest, v. 12–20.)

The pamphlet has many points of interest. It couples Sir David Dalrymple and Johnson as authorities for the spelling of Mallet's name at a time before Boswell had met Johnson. It does not seem to me especially Boswellian in style, and I suspect Dempster of having had the main hand in it. At any rate, it is well-written and still readable.

8. Correspondence with Erskine. 1763

Letters | between | The Honourable | Andrew Erskine, | and | James Boswell, Esq; | London: | Printed by Samuel Chandler; | For W. Flexney, near Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holborn. | MDCCLXIII.

Collation:—Octavo, pp. iv + 156; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; *Advertisement* (with blank reverse), pp. [iii-iv]; and Text of the *Letters*, pp. 1–156. There is a double rule at the top of p. 1, and there are headlines throughout, 'Letter I, II, III,' as the case may be, up to Letter XLII, except when the letter begins a page, in which case the heading is dropped. The

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letters are so arranged as always to begin at the top of a page, leaving a blank on the previous page if necessary. The pages are numbered throughout with arabic numerals; when the headline is dropped, the page number is in the centre of the page between square brackets. The signatures are [A] (two leaves), B–K (nine sheets, each 8 leaves), and L (six leaves). The book was issued without a Half-title. (The watermarks show that the two preliminary leaves are the missing inner fold of L.)

Issued in boards at three shillings, or full-bound in calf for 3*s.* 6*d.* The British Museum has a copy in the latter binding. The leaves of both the copy in the British Museum and that in the Library of the Yale University measure $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. There are also copies in the Library of the University of Edinburgh and the National Library of Scotland. The Bodleian Library has a copy with the inscription 'Robert Southey, Keswick, 6 Jan. 1836.'

Besides the twenty-one letters in prose and verse by Boswell, this volume also contains the following poems, one of which had already been printed in the *Original Poems*:

	Page
Ode to Gluttony [*Hail Gluttony! O let me eat*] . . (Previously printed in *Original Poems*, ii. 106)	30, 46
Epigram [*Your Wife* (*cries James*) *I think 'tis queer*] .	55
Ode on an Engagement between the Right Honourable Lady B****, and a Turkey-Cock [*Swell, swell, the mighty song*]	120

See the general notes following no. 9.

9. *New Edition*, 1879.

Boswell's Correspondence with the Honourable Andrew Erskine and his Journal of a Tour to Corsica (Reprinted from the original editions) Edited with a Preface, Introduction, and Notes by George Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L. . . . London: Thos. De La Rue & Co. 1879.

Octavo, 4 pl. + pp. xvi + 242. Type-facsimiles of original Title-pages. Dr. Hill made considerable omissions in the verse epistles, and some (unindicated) in the prose.

A selection from the Letters was reprinted in *Letters of James Boswell addressed to the Rev. W. J. Temple*, 1857, pp. 360–404. See item 11, p. 275.

LETTERS

BETWEEN

THE HONOURABLE

ANDREW ERSKINE,

AND

JAMES BOSWELL, Esq;

LONDON:

Printed by SAMUEL CHANDLER;

For W. FLEXNEY, near Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holborn.

MDCCLXIII.

DISPUTATIO JURIDICA,

AD TIT. X. LIB. XXXIII. PAND.

DE SUPELLECTILE LEGATA:

QUAM,

FAVENTE NUMINE,

EX AUCTORITATE CLARISSIMI AC CONSULTISSIMI VIRI,

D. ALEXANDRI LOCKHART

DE CRAIG-HOUSE,

INCLYTAE FACULTATIS JURIDICAE DECANI;

NEC NON

EX EJUSDEM FACULTATIS CONSENSU ET DECRETO,
PRO ADVOCATI MUNERE CONSEQUENDO,
PUBLICAE DISQUISITIONI SUBJICIT

JACOBUS BOSWELL, *Auct. & Resp.*

AD DIEM 26. JULII, HORA LOCOQUE SOLITIS.

EDINBURGI:
Apud ALEXANDRUM KINCAID Typographum Regium.
MDCCLXVI.

VIRO NOBILISSIMO, ORNATISSIMO,

J O A N N I,

VICECOMITI MOUNTSTUART,

ATAVIS EDITO REGIBUS,

EXCELSAE FAMILIAE DE BUTE SPEI ALTERAE;

LABENTE

The *Letters between the Hon. Andrew Erskine and James Boswell, Esq.* (which for convenience I have usually referred to as 'the Erskine Correspondence'), were published about the middle of April 1763. The first advertisement I have seen is in *Lond. Chron.*, April 14 (xiii. 359). The copy in the British Museum bears the autograph of the Rev. Thomas Birch, and the date 13 April 1763. It was the first of Boswell's publications to which he set his name, and, indeed, with the exception of his Thesis, was the only such down to *Corsica* (1768). The letters are genuine in the sense that they were unquestionably sent through the post, and are crammed full of current news and personal allusions which must have had little meaning for the general reader. They were plainly, however, from the very first of the series, conscious literary compositions intended ultimately for publication.

This book is the only one of Boswell's minor publications which has ever been reprinted, or which deserves to be if judged solely on its intrinsic merit. The *London Chronicle* (xiii. 404), within two weeks of the publication of the *Letters*, hailed the collection as 'a Book of true Genius, from the Authors of which we may expect many future agreeable productions'. The book is the first considerable example of Boswell's life-long willingness to be indiscreet provided thereby he could be interesting. In these breezy epistles both his and Erskine's relatives, friends, and connexions are discussed by name and at length in the most impudent manner. It should in justice be added that Erskine's letters are, on the whole, rather better than Boswell's.

10. Thesis in Civil Law. 1766

Disputatio Juridica, | Ad Tit. X. Lib. XXXIII. Pand. | De Supellectile Legata: | Quam, | Favente Numine, | Ex Auctoritate Clarissimi ac Consultissimi Viri, | D. Alexandri Lockhart | De Craig-House, | Inclytae Facultatis Juridicae Decani; | nec non | Ex ejusdem Facultatis Consensu et Decreto, | pro Advocati Munere Consequendo, | Publicae Disquisitioni Subjicit | Jacobus Boswell, Auct. & Resp. | Ad Diem 26. Julii, Hora Locoque Solitis. | Edinburgi: | Apud Alexandrum Kincaid Typographum Regium. | MDCCLXVI.

Collation:—Quarto, pp. vi + 8 + one blank leaf; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with *Imprimatur* of Dav. Dalrymple and Ro.

DOUGLAS CAUSE.

WE grant you, gentlemen, your ſuit
  Muſt be pronounc'd the Cauſe of Cauſes:
We've ſtudied with ſufficient care,
  Your Parts, your Sections, and your Pauſes.

We own your tale is finely told,
  We own your conduct has been glorious;
But you'll excuſe us if we own,
  We think you'll hardly be victorious.

No birth muſt henceforth be believ'd,
  Unleſs proclaim'd by ſound of trumpet;
And ev'ry Dame of high degree
  Become as brazen as a ſtrumpet.

The Croſs of Edinburgh muſt be made
  A perfect hoſpital in-lying;
Nor will the muſic-bells be heard,
  For Female Quality a-crying.

Tho' Sages would, with wond'rous ſtrength,
  O'erpower him by the force of *Numbers*,
Think you the gen'rous Youth is gone?
  Think you his Counſel will be dumb-bears?

Since Calculators have advanc'd
  To ſtrike us like a clap of thunder!
Why don't Aſtronomers diſpute
  The very ſtar he was born under?

Who e'er denied that Fifty is
  Leſs giv'n to ſport than Five-and-twenty *?
And who could not from Paris bring
  Blank books and tavern-bills in plenty?

We've read how children have been own'd
  By rings, by bracelets, or by lockets:
But now, to diſpoſſeſs an heir,
  Proofs may be found in Falſtaff's pockets †.

Should noble DOUGLAS loſe his cauſe,
  Foes may 'gainſt all our families dance in,
And ev'ry egg-ſhell of a plea
  Become a boat to ſail to France in.

* That a woman arrived at the age of fifty ſhould have a child is much more improbable, than that a woman of twenty-five ſhould have one. HAMILTON *Memorial*, Part. I. p. 22.

† GODEFROI.

Monſieur,
Sont entrés à ſouper.
Deux Bouteilles de Bourgogne, 0 12
Trois Bouteilles de Bourgogne, 1 16
Pour du Beurre tous les jours, 1 0
Un carreau de vitre, 0 5.
Hamilton Proof, p. 102.

† FALSTAFF.

Item, a Capon, 2 *s.* 2 *d.*
Item, Sauce, 4 *d.*
Item, Sack, two gallons 5 *s.* 8 *d.*
Item, Anchoves and Sack after ſupper, 2 *s.* 6 *d.*
Item, Bread, a half-penny.
King Henry IV. Part I. Act II. Scene laſt.

M'Queen, dated 'Julii 15, 1766,' in center of reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Dedication to John, Lord Mountstuart, headed by an engraved coat of arms (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]; Dedication concluded (with blank reverse), pp. [v–vi]; *Proemium* of *Disputatio Juridica*, pp. [1]–2; *Theses*, pp. 3–7; *Annexa*, p. 8. There are headlines throughout pp. 2–7, the verso being headed *Disputatio Juridica*, and the recto *De Supellectile Legata*. Pages 2 to 7 are numbered in arabic numerals. There are catch-words throughout. The signatures are [A] and B (two sheets, each 4 leaves, the last leaf being blank).

Issued 'stabbed', without wrappers. The book was not offered for sale, but was printed at Boswell's expense. His own copy is in the Johnson Birthplace at Lichfield. There are also copies in the National Library of Scotland, in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and a rotograph copy (available for loan) in the Library of Yale University. The leaves of a copy in the possession of Mr. Leonard Whibley measure $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

From 6 Aug. 1763 to 13 Feb. 1766 Boswell was absent from England on his memorable tour of the Continent and Corsica. Before leaving England he had promised his father that on his return he would abandon his wild schemes of entering the Army and devote himself to the practice of the Law. In fact, before he left Scotland in November 1762 he had already passed his trials as a Civilian. There remained the formality of writing a Latin thesis setting forth certain propositions from the Pandects, which he had to go through the show of defending before the Faculty. On 26 July 1766 he was publicly examined and found qualified, and on 29 July he donned the gown as an advocate (*Letters*, i. 91).

His Thesis, though entirely in Latin, is very characteristic. The long and fulsome dedication to Lord Mountstuart is well known because of its inclusion in the *Life of Johnson* and Johnson's strictures on its Latinity. The subject chosen by Boswell was, as its title shows, the heading of the Pandects concerning legacies of household furniture. He seems especially piqued with the strange classification of the Roman Law which reckoned carriages as household furniture. To the logic of this he offers a modest dissent, and advances an elegant argument from analogy to sustain his objection.

11. The Douglas Cause. 1767

The | Douglas Cause.

Collation:—Octavo, pp. 2. At the top of page [1] (which is a verso) is the heading, as above, and six four-line stanzas follow. P. 2 (the recto opposite) is numbered centrally with an arabic numeral placed between square brackets. It bears the last three stanzas of the poem, and the notes. The poem is printed on one side of a quarter-sheet of paper, the other (outer) side being left blank. There is no imprint anywhere on the sheet.

Issued flat, or with the printed pages folded together. I have no information as to the price; it may have been circulated gratis. The only copy I know is preserved as Folio 70 of MS. Douce 193 in the Bodleian Library. The open sheet measures $9\frac{5}{8}$ inches across, and is $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches high.

This little piece, although not dated, must have been published after 24 Jan. 1767 (*Scots Mag.*, xxix. 114). A companion ballad by Boswell entitled 'The Hamilton Cause' appears in *Scots Mag.* for March (xxix. 119), and is dated 'February 1767'. (See my article, 'Three New Legal Ballads by Boswell', *Juridical Review*, xxxvii–201.) Both pieces seem to have been inspired by the Hamilton memorial or brief in the great Douglas Cause, which had been compiled by Sir Adam Fergusson, Bt., the gentleman whom Johnson 'perceived to be a vile Whig' (*Life*, ii. 170). Boswell was a violent partisan of the defender, Archibald Douglas, this being only one of the 'various writings, both in prose and verse, all tending to touch the heart and rouse the parental and sympathetic feelings', with which he says he kept 'the newspapers and other publications incessantly warm' in Douglas's favour. It is perhaps not the only one which he had printed in this form.[1]

12. Dorando. 1767

Dorando, | A | Spanish Tale. | Contester à un citoyen l'état dont il a toujours été | en possession, qu'il a trouvé établi par les titres | de sa filiation, qu'une longue suite d'actes, que | des reconnoissances réïterées à chaque instant | de sa vie, et qu'une possession publique et non | interrompue de ce même état, ont

[1] After this was set up, Col. Ishram showed me the following entry in Boswell's journal for 1767: '[May] 20 . . . . Good ride to Ayr, made *Douglas Cause* a Song'.

confirmé, c'est | une action toujours odieuse, qui porte le trouble | dans les familles, et qui par la contagion de l'e- | xample [*sic*] peut devenir funeste à la société. | Cochin. | London, | Printed for J. Wilkie at the Bible in St. Paul's | Church-Yard. Sold also by J. Dodsley in | Pall-Mall, T. Davies in Russel-Street | Covent-Garden. | And by the Booksellers of Scotland. | M.DCC.LXVII.

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets; pp. 50; consisting of: Half-title, 'Dorando,' | A | Spanish Tale. | —Lydorum quidquid Etruscos | Incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te; | Hor. | (Price one Shilling.)' (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [3–4]; Text of *Dorando, A Spanish Tale*, pp. [5]–50. There is a running headline, *Dorando.*, and the pages from 6 to 50 are numbered in arabic numerals. The signatures are [A] to F (six half-sheets, each 4 leaves), and G (one leaf).

Issued 'stabbed', without wrapper. The watermark is a fleur-de-lis enclosed within scrolls, and surmounted by a crown. There are copies of this edition in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and the Signet Library. The copy in the Johnson Birthplace at Lichfield is probably of this edition, but I have not examined it. The leaves of the copy in the British Museum (which have been trimmed) measure $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches. See the general notes following no. 15.

13. *Large-Paper Impression of First Edition*, 1767

Collation:—Quarto, printed in half-sheets, pp. 50, plus one blank leaf. It is printed from the same types as the first edition, the only difference being that the last line of the Half-title '(Price One Shilling)' has been dropped, and the signatures rearranged for imposition in quarto. The signatures of this issue are [A] to N (thirteen half-sheets, each 2 leaves, the last leaf being blank).

Issued 'bound' (which seems to mean full-bound in calf) for half a crown. This issue is beautifully printed on a fine heavy paper with very wide margins. The watermark is a fleur-de-lis, not surrounded by scrolls nor surmounted by a crown, but with scrolls within the top cusp. I know of only two copies, both owned by private collectors: R. B. Adam, Esq., of Buffalo, and Alfred W. Cox, Esq., of Glencarse, Perthshire. The latter is a presentation copy from Boswell to

DORANDO,

A

SPANISH TALE.

Conteſter à un citoyen l'état dont il a toujours été en poſſeſſion, qu'il a trouvé établi par les titres de ſa filiation, qu'une longue ſuite d'actes, que des reconnoiſſances réïterées à chaque inſtant de ſa vie, et qu'une poſſeſſion publique et non interrompue de ce même état, ont confirmé, c'eſt une action toujours odieuſe, qui porte le trouble dans les familles, et qui par la contagion de l'example peut devenir funeſte à la ſociété.

COCHIN.

LONDON,

PRINTED FOR J. WILKIE AT THE BIBLE IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD. SOLD ALSO BY J. DODSLEY IN PALL-MALL, T. DAVIES IN RUSSEL-STREET COVENT-GARDEN,
AND BY THE BOOKSELLERS OF SCOTLAND.
M.DCC.LXVII.

the Earl Marischal, and contains the following inscription: 'To the Right Honourable The Earl Marischal of Scotland from His Lordship's faithful servant James Boswell.' (Boswell's usual inscription in presentation copies of his books was 'from the Authour'. So far as I can discover, he never openly stated himself to have been the author of *Dorando*.) The leaves of Mr. Adam's copy, which is in perfect condition and trimmed only on the upper edges for gilding, measure $9\frac{15}{16}$ by $7\frac{11}{16}$ inches. This copy seems to have been issued 'stabbed'. On p. 29, l. 19, the name 'Pedro' has been inserted in ink in Boswell's unmistakable hand. This addition was embodied in the text of the third edition (see below).

14. *So-called Second Edition*, 1767

Collation:—This is really not a second edition, but rather a third impression from the types of the first, made after printing the large-paper impression by restoring the signatures for imposition in octavo and inserting the words 'second edition' on the Title-page between the motto and the imprint. With that single exception the collation given for the first edition applies to this in every detail. If the title-page were lost, the two editions (impressions) could be distinguished by the watermarks, the paper of the 'second' edition (at least in the three copies I have examined) being that of the large-paper impression. Moreover, a careful measurement shows that the signature letters in the 'second' were not restored to precisely the positions they occupied in the first. Thus on p. 9 (sign. B), in the first edition a line drawn through the middle of the letter 'A' of the heading 'Dorando', past the extreme inner edge of the 'B' of the signature, passes all but outside the letter 'u' in the word 'counterfeiting' in the last line: in the 'second' edition it passes through the middle of the 'u'.

Issued 'stabbed', without wrapper. There are copies in the Bodleian Library and the Library of the University of Glasgow. The Bodleian Library in possessing copies of both first and 'second' editions offers a unique opportunity for examining the two side by side. The leaves of this copy (trimmed at the top and outer margin) measure $7\frac{5}{8}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. On p. 29 'Pedro' has been inserted in ink as in Mr. Adam's copy (see above), but the addition is not in Boswell's hand. The same is true of a copy ($7\frac{3}{8}$ by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches) in the possession of Mr. Charles McCamic of Wheeling, W. Va. Mr. Leonard Whibley,

however, has a copy in which the insertion (so far as I can judge from a tracing) was made by Boswell himself. See the general notes following no. 15.

15. *Third Edition*, 1767

Collation:—The same as for the first edition except for certain changes in the Title-page. In the motto 'l'example' is corrected to 'l'exemple'. The Title-page after the motto reads as follows: 'Third Edition, | with Corrections and Alterations. | Edinburgh, Printed for J. Wilkie at the Bible in St. Paul's Church-Yard, London; Sold also by | Drummond at Ossian's Head, Edinburgh; and | By all the Booksellers in Scotland. | M.DCC.LXVII.' The signatures are as in the first edition, of which the book is practically a line for line reprint, though the division of words and lines is not always identical. It imitates closely the appearance of the first edition, but was obviously printed at a different press, with a different fount of type, and on different paper.[1] The type is somewhat smaller, and the type-column consequently appreciably shorter. The appearance is on the whole less attractive. The following is a complete list of the 'corrections and alterations', the references applying to both editions. The reading of the third edition precedes:

Title-page, motto, *l'exemple : l'example*

p. 29, l. 19, *Don Pedro Stivalbo : Don Stivalbo*

p. 34, l. 9, *whom : which*

p. 37, ll. 14 ff., *They have embarked us in a* mare magnum *of conjecture. They have thrown together an incongruous heap of circumstances, picked up at the distance of fourteen years : They have embarked us in a* mare magnum *of circumstances, picked up at the distance*, etc.

p. 38, l. 20, adds after *spectator.*, *Never did he appear in greater glory.*

p. 38, ll. 21 ff., *The senators also delivered their sentiments to the same purpose, in various kinds of manly eloquence, which did equal honour to their justice and to their abilities : Several of the senators delivered their sentiments in terms a little different but to the same purpose with their head, and only one or two remained still under the cloud of prejudice, but did not venture to say one word.*

p. 41, l. 11, *families : family*

[1] See Appendix II, 'Additional Notes on the third edition of Dorando'.

p. 41, l. 13, *have we now: have we*
p. 42, l. 2, adds *undebilitated* after *unconcussed*
p. 44, l. 15, omits *unanimously*

Issued 'stabbed', without wrapper. There are copies in the Reference Library at Manchester, and in the library of the Rev. Dr. McKinlay of Stonehouse, Lanarkshire, who has kindly lent me his copy for collation. The leaves of this copy measure $7\frac{7}{8}$ by 5 inches.

General Notes on Dorando

The chronology and relationships of these four first printings of *Dorando* are extremely puzzling, and probably never will be satisfactorily explained. The baffling character of the evidence is unquestionably due to the fact that the publication of *Dorando* at the very moment the Douglas Cause was *sub judice* was, or was thought to be, contempt of court, and therefore was conducted in an especially cautious manner. So recently as 1765 the publishers of the *Scots Magazine* and of three of the newspapers in Edinburgh had been called before the bar of the Court of Justiciary for printing, with notes, the dissenting opinion of an English counsellor on the decision of that court in the notorious case of Patrick Ogilvie and Katharine Nairne (H. Arnot *History of Edinburgh*, pp. 447–9). It was therefore most unlikely that this open attempt to influence the decision of an important case actually in dependence would be allowed to pass unnoticed by the Court of Session. Nor was it, though the action the court took is not altogether easy to explain. The Lord President ignored the publishers and vendors of the pamphlet, and again arrested the publishers of the newspapers that printed extracts from it. Wilkie, the ostensible publisher, was outside the jurisdiction of the court, but Drummond, who was advertised as selling all three editions in Edinburgh and whose name appears on the third (which bears Edinburgh as the place of publication), was never molested. The reason probably was that, *Dorando* being an allegory, the Lord President knew that to prove its connexion with the Douglas Cause would be extremely difficult and might involve the court in ridicule, whereas the newspapers added comments clearly identifying the two. In the prosecution of 1765 the Lords of Justiciary had found, 'That the publication of the said opinion, *especially with the notes prefixed to it*, was a high indignity to the court' (Arnot, *op. cit.*, p. 449). These offensive comments, it may be added, were practically all written by Boswell himself. (See 'The Incredible Boswell', *Blackwood's Magazine*, August 1925.)

The questions to be answered in settling the facts of the publication *Dorando* are briefly these :

1. Where were the first two editions of *Dorando* printed—in London, or in Scotland ?
2. What is the chronological relationship between the first and second edition ?

The first question can, I think, be answered confidently. The book was printed in Scotland, and almost certainly at the Foulis Press in Glasgow. This is established by the type, which is the identical 'transitional face' English used in the *Preface* of Boswell's *Corsica* (1768), and in other Foulis Press books of the period, e.g. in the *Prefaces* of Lord Hailes's *Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain in the Reign of Charles the First* and of the second edition of the *Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain in the Reign of James the First*, both published in 1766. Mr. Carl P. Rollins, Printer to Yale University, has examined the books with me, and assures me that there can be no doubt in the matter. This type, which has a very distinctive face, was of course not peculiar to the Foulis Press. It was cast in the Glasgow foundry by Dr. Alexander Wilson, and was used by other Scots printers, but it was not, so far as I can discover, used by the printers in London, who naturally bought their type nearer home. There are, however, other details that point not merely to Scotland as the place of printing, but to the Foulis Press. The Foulises had a habit of making up dashes from four or five hyphens, apparently because of a shortage of dashes in all their founts, a procedure which seems to me unusual enough to be considered characteristic. (See Lord Hailes's *Memorials and Letters to . . . Charles the First*, pp. xxvii–xxxix.) There are a great many dashes in *Dorando*. Up to p. 24 the ordinary dash is used with one exception ; thereafter with only one exception the dash made of hyphens is employed. Moreover, we are informed by Dr. Patrick Wilson, Alexander Wilson's son and successor, that the Foulises never made use of leads to extend the distances between lines, but had their founts cast upon 'bastard' bodies to give the proper spacing (D. Murray, *R. & A. Foulis*, p. 19). Mr. Rollins and I have carefully measured the line spacing of all the pages of *Dorando*, and find that, although the lines are more widely spaced than would result from the use of an English face on an English body, the distances are more uniform than could ever have been obtained by the use of Eighteenth Century leads which were not precisely gauged. Allowing for slight irregularities caused by differences in shrinkage of the paper (see D. B. Updike,

Printing Types, i. 31), the measurements are identical for *Dorando*, the *Preface* of the first edition of *Corsica*, and the *Prefaces* of the two works of Lord Hailes mentioned above; i. e. the corresponding parts of all four were printed from a 'bastard' fount of type which had an English face on a great primer body. *Dorando* is remarkable in one other respect. It shows almost perfect 'register', a very unusual thing in a shilling pamphlet, and a bit of fine press work which perhaps no printers in Scotland besides the Foulises would have thought worth striving for.

Quite apart from the typographical evidence, the assignment of the first printings of *Dorando* to the Foulis Press is most plausible. Boswell had been intimate with Robert and Andrew Foulis since his student days at the University of Glasgow, and in a letter dated in the month of the publication of *Dorando* speaks of Robert Foulis as his friend (*Letters*, i. 117 n.). During the latter part of May, when the first edition seems to have been printed, he was almost certainly at Auchinleck, only a few miles from Glasgow. (*Letters*, i. 110–11. He probably remained at Auchinleck until just before the opening of the session, i. e. June 12.) The Foulises began printing *Corsica* some time in August.[1]

The evidence regarding the dates of publication of the various editions may be summarized as follows:

1. On 6 June Wilkie entered *Dorando* at Stationers' Hall, and deposited nine copies of the book. The entry reads, 'June 6, 1767 | J. Wilkie The Whole Then Entered for His Copy | Dorando a Spanish Tale. | Rec^{d} Nine Copys. G. H. vj.' I have examined this entry myself as well as many others in the same volume and am satisfied that the books were deposited at the same time that the registrar made the entry and took the fee of sixpence. This means, therefore, that *Dorando* was already printed by 6 June and at least some copies of it then in Wilkie's hands.

[1] 29 June 1928. I have just seen the following entries in Boswell's journal for 1767, now in possession of Col. Isham:

'[April] 14. You began Dorando . . .

'[April] 15. You was in great vigour of genius and in the library you dictated Dorando. You thought it excellent. Mr. Brown, when writing it, often was struck with admiration, and cried that's grand. You considered it an elegant mark of your attachment to the family of Douglas . . .

'[April] 18. . . . Sent Dorando to Foulis. Imagined he might perhaps scruple to publish so strong an Allusion to the Douglas Cause. Left him to himself.

'[April] 27. . . . I also got a proof of Dorando . . .

'[May] 10. . . . I was anxious to have the conclusion of my Spanish proofs'.

2. On 9 June (xxi. 551) the *London Chronicle* printed the following advertisement: 'In a few days will be published, Price 1*s*. Dorando. A Spanish Tale. . . . Printed for J. Wilkie, Bookseller, at No. 71, in St. Paul's Church Yard.' However, the advertisement announcing the publication did not follow until 2 July (see below). Wilkie, it may be added, was the publisher of the *Chronicle*.

3. On 15 June (No. 7005) the *Caledonian Mercury* printed the following advertisement: 'This day was published, (and sold by Drummond at Ossian's Head, Edinburgh) elegantly printed in octavo, price One Shilling, Dorando, a Spanish Tale. . . . London, Printed for J. Wilkie at the Bible in St. Paul's Church-Yard; sold also, by J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, T. Davies in Russell-street, Covent Garden; and by the Booksellers in Scotland. ☞ A few copies in splendid quarto, and bound, to be had at half a crown each. N.B. This tale is entered in Stationers-hall, so that whoever shall presume to reprint it, without license of the proprietor, shall be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the laws.' This advertisement followed in the other Edinburgh papers.

4. On 20 June (No. 7007) the *Mercury* advertised the second edition. The advertisement is the same as for the first edition, except that it omits the notice of entry in Stationers' Hall, and adds, 'From an imagined similarity between Dorando and the great Douglas Cause, the sale of it has been very rapid. N.B. A French translation will be published at Paris with all expedition.' Because it would have been entirely impossible to sell out one edition, order another printed in London, and get it delivered in five days, it has been generally assumed that, although the first edition was printed in London, the second edition, in spite of the London imprint, was really printed in Edinburgh. But that cannot be, for the two are printed from the same setting of type.

5. On 29 June the *Mercury* advertised the third edition, 'with Corrections and Alterations'. It adds the interesting information that 'the public may be assured, that there is no foundation for the report that warrants are issued to apprehend the author of Dorando'.

6. On 2 July Wilkie advertised *Dorando* in the *London Chronicle*, with the statement as to the entry at Stationers' Hall and the French translation. The advertisement reads as though the book were a first edition and just going on sale. Yet by that time the book had run through three editions in Edinburgh, the last of which boasted 'additions and corrections'.

The best explanation seems to be the following. The book was printed at Glasgow in May, and part of the edition sent to Wilkie. The nine copies required by the copyright act were probably sent by post, the remainder by the usual (much slower) transportation service —possibly by water. Boswell in Edinburgh waited until Wilkie had sent him notice of the registration in Stationers' Hall, and until he had seen the first advertisement in the *London Chronicle*. (The report of the proceedings against the Scots publishers shows that this advertisement was considered important. *Scots Mag.*, xxix. 338.) On the 15th he brought out his part of the first edition, which was promptly sold. The great difficulty is to explain how the second edition, after this lapse of time, happens to be printed from the same setting of type as the first. It is possible that Boswell, on applying to the Foulises, found the type still standing, and simply directed them to run off another impression. It would, however, in the Eighteenth Century, have been unusual for a printer to hold his type so long—at least three weeks, and possibly more. Even when a pamphlet was popular, and a second edition was printed within a few days of the first, it will generally be found that the type has been entirely re-set. And if the Foulises kept the type standing so long, would they not have held it a few days longer on the chance of a third edition? But after all, we can achieve no certainty on such points. We do not know what was happening in the Foulis Press. There may have been no call for that particular fount of type between, say, May 20 and June 20, and an urgent demand for it on June 21. It was certainly not a type the Foulises used much. The great bulk of their printing was done in much smaller sizes.

There is another possibility, to which I incline. The second edition has to me the appearance of being what in America is now referred to as 'a second edition before publication'; i. e. the publishers change their minds as to a book's chances of success, and run off a second impression before the first is ready to go on the market. After printing his first edition and his large-paper copies, and after having shown the book to some of his friends, Boswell may have decided that he could sell more copies than he had originally estimated, and ordered the Foulises to print at once another impression, which he called a 'second edition' from precisely the same motive that causes the American publishers to use the term; i. e. he wished the book to appear a more splendid success. One small piece of evidence supports this. Most copies of the large-paper impression and of the second edition seem carefully to have been corrected by Boswell himself and some other

person, who inserted in ink on p. 29 the name 'Pedro' between 'Don' and 'Stivalbo'. This was necessary to ensure clearness, as on p. 38 the Chief Justice of the Senate of Sevile refers to Don Stivalbo as 'Don Pedro', the name not previously having been used. But if the second edition were printed long after the first, would not this change have been made at the press? And if the second edition were got out with such haste as is implied by supposing that Boswell, who was in Edinburgh, sold out the first edition, got a second printed in Glasgow, and got it on sale in Edinburgh, all within five days, would there have been time for making the correction?

At any rate, the second edition failed to satisfy the demand, and Boswell had a third printed 'with corrections and alterations'. The imprint of this edition is 'Edinburgh', which I see no reason for regarding as fictitious. It was certainly not printed from the same type as the first and second editions, nor even, if appearances count for anything, at the same press. This is of importance in considering the problem of the second edition. If the Foulises printed the second edition with such satisfactory dispatch between 15 June and 20 June, it is somewhat remarkable that Boswell should have gone to another press; if, however, the Foulises had had no connexion with the pamphlet since some time in May, it is most natural that Boswell should have applied to an Edinburgh printer who could bring the new edition out under his personal supervision.

Meanwhile Wilkie's consignment of the first edition had tardily come to hand, and was by him advertised and put on sale. It may be that he was in no great hurry to display the pamphlet, for the Douglas Cause naturally did not receive much attention in England until after the decision of the Court of Session. Writing to Temple from Edinburgh on 9 Sept., Boswell says that he is short of copies, but that Wilkie has plenty in London (*Letters*, i. 128). The fourth edition (second in London) did not appear until December.

As it is by no means impossible (though I think unlikely) that the editions sold in London and Edinburgh were not the same, any one who has access to a copy of *Dorando* other than those I have mentioned should examine it closely to see whether it corresponds in every detail with my collation. Besides the watermark, the following measurements will identify the edition I have examined. (These apply equally to the first, the large-paper issue, and the 'second'.) The type column of p. 9 (including the headline, but not the signature) measures 13·6 cm.; p. 8, 13·7 cm.; p. 7, 14·25 cm.; p. 11, 13·7 cm.; p. 13, 13·6 cm.; p. 21, 13·7 cm.; p. 50 (including

'Finis'), 11·5 cm. The length of the lines throughout is about 7·4 cm. The title-page of the first measures 13·6 cm. There are many distinguishing typographical peculiarities, of which the following are sufficient to identify the edition: p. 9, last line, *Partus*, *Suppositio*; p. 7, l. 8, broken 'h' in 'they'; p. 17, l. 6, broken 'd' in 'Dorando'; p. 28, l. 8, broken 'r' in 'crying'; p. 28, l. 2 from bottom, a dash made of four hyphens badly out of alinement, thus :–-–-

16. *Fourth Edition*, 1767

On 5 Dec. 1767 the following advertisement appeared in *Lond. Chron.* (xxii. 543) 'This Day was published, Price *1s.* A New Edition, being the Fourth, of Dorando. A Spanish Tale. With Corrections, Alterations and Additions. Printed for J. Wilkie, at No. 71, in St. Paul's Churchyard; J. Dodsley, in Pall-mall; and T. Davies, in Russell street, Covent Garden; and sold by all the Booksellers in Town and Country.' No copy of this edition has ever been reported. Since it was the only one published after the decision of the Court of Session, it would be interesting to see what the corrections and additions consist of.

17. *French Translation*, 1767

The advertisements in both the *Caledonian Mercury* and the *London Chronicle* (see above) state that 'a French translation will be published at Paris with all expedition'. I have never heard of such a translation, and doubt whether it exists. A search kindly made for me at the Bibliothèque Nationale has failed to discover such a work.

18. The Essence of the Douglas Cause. 1767

The | Essence | of the | Douglas Cause. | To which is subjoined, | Some Observations | on a | Pamphlet Lately Published, | intitled, | Considerations | on the | Douglas Cause. | [*Double rules across page*] | London: | Printed for J. Wilkie, in St. Paul's Church Yard. | MDCCLXVII. | [Price Two Shillings.]

Collation:—Octavo, pp. iv + 77 + ii + 18; consisting of: Title-page as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; *Advertisement* to the

THE
ESSENCE
OF THE
DOUGLAS CAUSE.

To which is subjoined,

SOME OBSERVATIONS
ON A
PAMPHLET LATELY PUBLISHED,
INTITLED,
CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
DOUGLAS CAUSE.

LONDON:
Printed for J. WILKIE, in St. Paul's Church Yard.
MDCCLXVII.
[Price Two Shillings.]

Essence, pp. [iii–iv]; Text of the *Essence*, pp. [1]–77 (77 verso is blank); Fly-title to the *Observations* (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Text of the *Observations*, pp. [1]–18. There are no headlines, the pages (beginning with p. 2 in each case) being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between round brackets, but p. 5 of the *Essence* in some copies has one square and one round bracket. This was corrected in the press and most copies appear without the variation. There are catch-words throughout, and each paragraph of the *Essence* has a synopsis printed opposite (in smaller type) in the margin. The signatures are [A] (two leaves), B to G (six sheets, each 8 leaves), and H (one leaf). Although given separate pagination, the *Essence* and the *Observations* are printed continuously, the Fly-title to the *Observations* being the last leaf of signature F, the other leaves of which are in the *Essence*. The volume was apparently issued without a Half-title.

Issued 'stabbed', without wrapper. The only copy I know which preserves the *Observations* is in the Harvard College Library. The leaves of this copy (which have been trimmed) measure $8\frac{1}{8}$ by 5 inches. There is at present no copy of the *Essence* in the British Museum. See the general notes following no. 19.

19. *Second Issue*, 1767

This is exactly the same as the above, except that the *Observations* have been removed, the pamphlet ending with p. 77 of the *Essence* (sign. F7). There are copies in this condition in the Signet Library, in the possession of the Rev. Dr. McKinlay, of Professor C. B. Tinker, and of myself.

The Essence of the Douglas Cause was first advertised in *Lond. Chron.* 24 Nov. 1767 (xxii. 503). It was certainly printed in London, for it did not appear in Edinburgh until some days after it went on sale in the metropolis, and Boswell (see below) speaks of having 'been at a distance from the press'. On 21 Nov. there had appeared simultaneously in London and Edinburgh an able pamphlet entitled *Considerations on the Douglas Cause*, as strongly for the Hamilton side as Boswell was for Douglas. I think it probable that Boswell knew of the preparation of this pamphlet, and that there was a race between the two authors to see which could get his book out first. 21 Nov. was a Saturday. Some ardent Douglasian in London got the *Considerations*, and over the week-end wrote a reply of

eighteen pages to it, which Wilkie, without taking time to consult Boswell, printed with his pamphlet, giving both equal mention on the title-page. Boswell was furious. In *Lond. Chron.* 5 Dec. (xxii. 543), he made Wilkie insert the following advertisement:

'This Day was published, Price 2*s*. The Essence of the Douglas Cause, in an Appeal to the impartial People of these Kingdoms. Vox Populi est vox Dei. . . . The Authour of *The Essence*, etc., being at a distance from the Press, has been not a little offended to find that *Observations on a Pamphlet, called, 'Considerations on the Douglas Cause'*, have been tacked to an Essay on which he has bestowed the greatest Pains. He has endeavoured to plead the Cause of Mr. Douglas like a Lawyer and a Gentleman, and he thinks it much below him to take any notice of an obscure and impertinent Scribbler, whose Falsities and nauseous Attempts, at being witty on this solemn Occasion, should be allowed to sink with Contempt. *The Essence* is now freed from these *Observations*.'

It has been inferred from this advertisement that what was here offered for sale was an issue with a new title-page mentioning only the *Essence*, and with the motto 'Vox Populi est Vox Dei'. I have even been told that one of the Scotch newspapers printed an advertisement stating that there *would* be an issue with a new title-page bearing this motto. There was no such advertisement in either the *Caledonian Mercury* or the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, but there may have been in the *Courant* which I have not had an opportunity to search. On the other hand, the *Mercuries* of 23 Dec. and 30 Dec. advertise the *Essence* with the old title—'to which is subjoined, etc.', although it is pretty clear from Wilkie's advertisement that the *Observations* survived only in the title-page. At any rate, I do not believe the issue with a new title-page was ever published. All that happened, I think, was that the *Observations* were torn bodily from the pamphlet, and the joint title-page left undisturbed. This was a very simple matter, but it would have been much more of a task to cancel the title-page (which was also the cover) and paste on a new one. The motto in Wilkie's advertisement means little, for on 27 Nov. he had inserted in the *Public Advertiser* an advertisement of the original edition of the *Essence* plus the *Observations* with this same Latin tag: 'The Essence of the Douglas Cause: In an Appeal to the Impartial People of these Kingdoms, to which are subjoined some Observations on a Pamphlet, lately published, entitled, Considerations on the Douglas Cause. Vox Populi est Vox Dei. The Voice of the People is the Voice of God. Printed for J. Wilkie, in St. Paul's Churchyard.'

The strange edition next to be described shows that the issue commonly circulating was one from which the *Observations* had been removed, but which still bore the original title-page.

20. *Second* (? *Pirated*) *Edition*, 1767

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. iv + 77 and one blank leaf; material as in the first edition, except that '[Price Two Shillings]' is omitted under the imprint on the Title-page, and the signatures are [A] to K (ten half-sheets, each 4 leaves, the last leaf being blank), the whole preceded by two unsigned leaves carrying the Title-page and *Advertisement*. The book is practically a page for page reprint of the first edition, but the division of words and lines is not identical. There are also changes in spelling and punctuation. The printing is very poorly done and swarms with broken letters and typographical errors, the most noticeable of which are the frequent substitutions of 'u' for 'n' and 'n' for 'u': *iun-keeper* (p. 24, 3rd line from bottom); *pomponsly* (p. 25, l. 4 from bottom); *Flnratl* (p. 27, l. 8); *Iuspecteur* (p. 28, l. 12), etc. The presence of the blank leaf at the end following a blank page shows that this edition never really contained the *Observations* mentioned on the title-page at all, but that the printer set it up from a copy of the first edition from which the *Observations* had been removed, and had not sense enough to alter the title-page accordingly.

There is a copy of this edition in the Bodleian Library. It lacks the blank leaf at the end, but this is present in the copy of the re-issue in the Signet Library (see next item).

In spite of the imprint, everything points to the fact that this was a pirated edition, probably made by some Scots publisher. If Wilkie had been reprinting the pamphlet, he would certainly have altered the title-page. It is incredible that after publishing Boswell's furious note and after having gone to the expense of cancelling the *Observations* he should still have printed another edition with the old title-page, although the *Observations* were actually not contained in the book. The omission of the price on the title-page and the generally inferior appearance of the book indicate that it was a cheap and hurried piracy got out to undersell the genuine edition. That such a piracy was feared is indicated by the advertisement of the *Essence* in *Caledon. Merc.* 30 Dec. 1767, which adds 'As the above pamphlet is entered in the Stationers-hall, it is hoped no person will presume to reprint or vend the same, or they shall be prosecuted according

to law'. The piracy probably appeared at about the time of this advertisement.

It is, perhaps, not impossible to identify the pirate. Francis Robertson of Edinburgh was notorious for just such unscrupulous dealings. At this very time he was being prosecuted by Almon of London for pirating his Report of the Speeches of the Scots Judges in the Douglas Cause. In 1787 he and a publisher named Anderson, of Stirling, were tried before the Court of Session for putting on the market a spurious edition of *Cecilia*. The report of the trial in *Scots Mag.* Sept. 1787 (xlix. 464) shows that the methods employed on that occasion were exactly those of the present instance: 'The defenders had been guilty of a fraudulent act, in printing on the title-page of this spurious edition of Cecilia, the names of Mess. Cadell and Payne, the printers of the London edition, to which they had made their own counterfeit to bear a most exact resemblance in size, paper, type, etc. so as to make it pass in the market for the London edition printed by the pursuers.'

21. *Second Issue of Pirated Edition*, 1769

Observations | on the | Douglas Cause | in general; | But chiefly with a view to the Charac- | ters of the Parties principally con- | cerned on the part of the Defendant. | In a | Letter | to a | Noble Lord, | From a Gentleman in ****. | With | The Essence of the Douglas Cause. | Quid dulcius hominum generi a natura datum est, | quam sui cuique liberi? —— | Printed in the Year MDCCLXIX.

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. 36 + iv + 77; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; Text of the *Observations*, pp. [3]–36; the *Essence* follows, exactly as described in the last item, except that the Title-page has been removed. The *Observations* has no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. It has catch-words throughout. The signatures of this part of the pamphlet are A to D (four half-sheets, each 4 leaves), plus E (one leaf), the whole preceded by one unsigned leaf carrying the Title-page. The pamphlet apparently had no Half-title. The *Essence* as it appears in this edition was merely supplied from remainder copies of the 1767 piracy.

I have found no advertisements of this issue and so cannot say what the price was. The only complete copy which I know is in the

Signet Library. In this the title-page to the *Essence* has been torn out, but the blank leaf at the end is intact. I suppose the title-page was removed from all copies in combining it with the *Observations on the Douglas Cause*, but I know of two copies from which the *Essence* has been removed bodily, presumably to sell as the first edition, which could hardly have been done without a title-page, either the original or a forged one. The leaves of the copy in the Signet Library measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

This issue must have appeared some time before the final decision of the House of Lords on 27 Feb. 1769. The date of the imprint would therefore confine it to January or February of that year. *The Observations on the Douglas Cause in General* was written by Francis Douglas of Aberdeen (a collaborator with Boswell in the *Original Poems*, 1762), printed by J. Chalmers of Aberdeen, and published by Charles Dilly in London on 18 Oct. 1768 (*Lond. Chron.*, xxiv. 375). The publishing of the pamphlet was held to be a breach of privilege, as the cause was then pending before the House of Lords. An order was issued for both author and printer to be brought to London, but Dilly prevailed upon Lord Lyttelton and other peers to interfere, and the culprits were excused on the plea of ignorance. (See Chalmers's letter in *N. & Q.* 2nd Ser. xii. 222.)

Apparently in 1769 the man who pirated the *Essence* still had some copies on hand. As the Cause was again exciting great interest because it was about to be finally decided by the Peers, he resolved to bring the *Essence* forward again, making it more attractive by combining it with Francis Douglas's pamphlet, which was probably generally known to have been suppressed. He therefore pirated Douglas's pamphlet, tore off the title-pages from his copies of the *Essence*, made a joint title-page for the two, from which he carefully omitted all mention of a publisher's name, and put the revamped book on the market. That the same man was responsible for both the 1767 piracy and this 1769 issue is evident from the *Observations*, which, though in slightly smaller type than the *Essence*, presents exactly the same general typographical appearance. The *Observations* and general title-page are printed on paper bearing the same water-mark, which is different from that of the *Essence*.

It is rather remarkable that in all its vicissitudes Boswell's *Essence of the Douglas Cause* never succeeded in freeing itself entirely from some *Observations* or other. In this last issue, indeed, it was itself 'tacked on' to another work.

22. Letters of Lady Jane Douglas. 1767

Letters | of | The Right Honourable | Lady Jane Douglas; | with | Several other Important Pieces | of | Private Correspondence. | From All Which | The Characters of | That Celebrated Lady, | and of | Her Husband Sir John Stewart, | will appear in a Light | Hitherto not sufficiently known to the World. | The Whole drawn from the most Authentic Sources, | collected, arranged, and illustrated with Notes. | Together with | An Introductory Preface, | Giving some Account of Lady Jane Douglas; | Partly taken from a Case drawn up by | Alexander Lockhart Esquire, | Dean of the Faculty of Advocates. | To which are subjoined, | The Dying Declarations | Of Lady Jane Douglas, Sir John Stewart, and their | Attendant Mrs. Helen Hewit, | Which have been much insisted on in Behalf of | Archibald Douglas Esq. | With a Cool and Candid Inquiry how far such Decla- | rations should weigh with the rational Part of Mankind. | [*Long Rule*] | This is a Jury Cause, where every body will judge for themselves, and | also judge those who judge it. | Lord Alemore's Speech on the Douglas Cause. | The Characters of Parties concerned must in such an Evidence as this | have some Weight. Lord Hales's Speech on the Douglas Cause. | [*Long Rule*] | London: | Printed for J. Wilkie, in St. Paul's Church-yard. | MDCCLXVII.

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. viii + 160; consisting of: Half-title, 'Letters | of | The Right Honourable | Lady Jane Douglas. | [Price Three Shillings.]', 'Entered in Stationers-Hall, agreeable | to Act of Parliament' in center of reverse, pp. [i–ii]; Title-page, as above, p. [iii]; *Advertisement*, p. [iv]; *Introductory Preface*, pp. v–viii; Text of *Letters*, etc., pp. 1–152; *The Dying Declarations of Lady Jane Douglas*, pp. 153–4; *The Dying Declaration of Sir John Stewart*, pp. 155–6; *The Dying Declaration of Mrs. Helen Hewit*, pp. 157–8; *A Cool and Candid Inquiry*, etc., pp. 159–60. There are no headlines, the pages being centrally numbered in arabic numerals placed between round brackets. Each letter is given a heading with a roman number. There are catch-words where the text of the letter runs over, and occasionally where it does not. The signatures are A to X (twenty-one half-sheets, each 4 leaves).

Issued 'sewed', probably with wrapper. The leaves of the copy in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum, which has been bound and trimmed but presents wide clear margins, measure $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches. There are also copies in the Bodleian Library, the National Library of Scotland, the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and the Columbia University Library. See the general notes following no. 23.

23. *Irish Edition*, 1768

Letters | of | the Right Honourable | Lady Jane Douglas; | to her | Husband Sir John Stewart, Bart. | Collected, arranged, and illustrated with Notes. | With an | Introductory Preface, | extracted from her Case drawn up by | Alexander Lockhart, Esquire, | Dean of the Faculty of Advocates. | To Which are subjoined, | the dying Declarations | of | Lady Jane Douglas, Sir John Stewart, and | their Attendant Mrs. Helen Hewit. | [*Long rule*] | [*Mottoes as in first edition, but differently divided*] | [*Long double rules*] | Dublin: | Printed by J. Exshaw, in Dame-street. MDCCLXVIII.

Collation:—Duodecimo, pp. viii + 203; consisting of: Half-title, 'Letters | of | The Right Honourable | Lady Jane Douglas.' (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]; *Introductory Preface*, pp. v–viii; Text of *Letters*, etc., pp. [1]–192; *The Dying Declaration of Lady Jane Douglas*, pp. 193–5; *The Dying Declaration of Sir John Stewart*, pp. 196–7; *The Dying Declaration of Mrs. Helen Hewit*, pp. 198–200; *A Cool and Candid Inquiry*, etc., pp. 201–3. In general make-up the book follows the first edition. The signatures are A (four leaves), B to I (eight sheets, each 12 leaves), and K (one half-sheet, 6 leaves).

The only copy I have seen (that in the possession of the Rev. Dr. McKinlay) is full-bound in calf. The leaves of this copy (which have been trimmed) measure $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. I have no information as to the date of issue or the price, but it must have been considerably less than that of the first edition, of which the book seems to be an exact reprint, the greater number of pages being due to the smaller format.

It is possible that there was also another edition of this work, published at Edinburgh, soon after the appearance of the first edition. On 23 Dec. 1767 the *Caledonian Mercury* printed an advertisement

LETTERS

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LADY JANE DOUGLAS;

WITH

Several other IMPORTANT PIECES

OF

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

FROM ALL WHICH

The CHARACTERS of

That CELEBRATED LADY,

AND OF

Her HUSBAND Sir JOHN STEWART,

WILL APPEAR IN A LIGHT

Hitherto not sufficiently known to the WORLD.

The WHOLE drawn from the most AUTHENTIC SOURCES, collected, arranged, and illustrated with NOTES.

TOGETHER WITH

An INTRODUCTORY PREFACE,

Giving some Account of Lady JANE DOUGLAS;

Partly taken from a CASE drawn up by

ALEXANDER LOCKHART Esquire,

DEAN of the Faculty of ADVOCATES.

To which are subjoined,

THE DYING DECLARATIONS

Of Lady JANE DOUGLAS, Sir JOHN STEWART, and their Attendant Mrs. HELEN HEWIT,

Which have been much insisted on in Behalf of ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS Esq.

With a COOL and CANDID INQUIRY how far such Declarations should weigh with the rational Part of Mankind.

This is a Jury Cause, where every body will judge for themselves, and also judge those who judge it.

Lord ALEMORE's Speech on the Douglas Cause.

The Characters of Parties concerned must in such an Evidence as this have some Weight. Lord HALES's Speech on the Douglas Cause.

LONDON:

Printed for J. WILKIE, in St. Paul's Church-yard.

MDCCLXVII.

by A. Kincaid and J. Bell of *The Essence of the Douglas Cause* and the *Letters*. The *Essence* is advertised as published by Wilkie, but the advertisement of the *Letters* does not mention Wilkie's name. On 30 Dec. Kincaid and Bell repeated the advertisement. The *Essence* is said to be 'sold by A. Kincaid and J. Bell'; the *Letters* are 'printed for Alexander Kincaid and John Bell'. As these advertisements are somewhat ambiguous, however, I have hesitated to record this as a separate edition without having seen a copy of it.

The Letters of Lady Jane Douglas were entered at Stationers' Hall on 26 Nov. 1767, by William Strahan, who claimed entire proprietorship. On 28 Nov. they were advertised by Wilkie in *Lond. Chron.* as for sale. Strahan, though the leading printer of the day, had no shop, and seldom put his name on the books he published.

The letters in this little volume were extracted from the documents in the Douglas Cause, all but the first three being found in the Douglas *Service* and *Proof*. Most of them have been shortened by judicious omissions, some being no more than single paragraphs taken from long letters and provided with salutations and endings. The selection and abridgement are carefully and not very scrupulously done with an eye to heightening the pathos of Lady Jane's character. Though the work of arranging the material must have been considerable, the parts which can be regarded as the independent composition of the editor (or editors) are very slight. Besides the Introductory Preface (taken from a case prepared by Lockhart, chief counsel for the Duke of Hamilton, and so garbled as to make him appear to be for Douglas), there remain only the Advertisement (perhaps by the publisher), a few notes, and the 'Cool and Candid Inquiry'.

There can be no doubt that Boswell was one of the editors of this volume, though perhaps not the sole editor. The following are four of the notes:

(p. 3) 'Robert Keith, Esquire, a descendant of the illustrious family of Marischal, long his Britannick Majesty's ambassador at the Court of Russia, now living in an honourable retreat near Edinburgh.' (This Robert Keith was a brother-in-law of Sir Alexander Dick and well known to Boswell. I think he was probably the 'friend, whose political abilities have been acknowledged by the highest authority' who wrote one of the *British Essays*. See *post*, pp. 79, 82.)

(p. 21) 'The Countess de Bassevitz is a lady of the court of Mecklenburgh Strelitz. She is in correspondence with M. de Voltaire and most of the celebrated geniuses in Europe, and is upon the whole

one of the best and most accomplished women of her time.' (What Scotsman of the Douglas party is so likely to have written that note as Boswell?)

(p. 92) 'A very eminent physician at Edinburgh, and the constant companion of all the men of rank in his time who were distinguished for their learning or their wit and humour. He had a singularly good memory and an inexhaustible fund of entertaining stories, which he used to tell with a shrewd gravity which gave them a high relish. After a very long and successful practice he dropt off in a fresh old age, while he was reading his favourite Horace.' (Compare the style of this note on Dr. Clerk with that on Lord Somerville, *Life*, iv. 50, n. 2. See also the anecdotes on Dr. Clerk in *Boswelliana*.)

(p. 126) 'This letter from Lady Jane to the Duke of Douglas was written in consequence of that most interesting scene described in *Dorando, a Spanish Tale*.'

The 'Cool and Candid Inquiry' might be an extract from *The Essence of the Douglas Cause*: 'It remains candidly to inquire what weight these death-bed Declarations should have with the rational part of mankind. I own they have very great weight with me. The near prospect of death is so awful to human nature, that not one in a thousand can view it without shrinking; and innumerable instances may be brought of people, who, for a course of years, have bid defiance to the stings of conscience, and yet have bowed down in penitence at the approach of the king of terrors.... Let the letters of Sir John and Lady Jane, and the oaths of the many great and worthy persons by whom they were regarded, be fairly considered, and then let the keenest partisan of a cruel party call them criminals if he can do so without any inward check. Mrs. Hewit's good character is proved by the oath of the late Mr. Harper, a clergyman of singular piety and solid understanding. Neither of the three were ever before accused or even suspected, of any crime. The heavy charge now brought against them in a volume of circumstantial and most suspicious evidence has been positively contradicted by all of them when stepping into eternity. Let us lay our hands upon our hearts, and judge as we would wish to be judged.'

That last sentence, indeed, is lifted bodily from *Dorando*, in which the Chief Justice of the Court of Seville is made to say, 'I lay my hand upon my heart, and I judge as I would wish to be judged.'

There is also external evidence which would make us connect Boswell with the book even if it were not for the evidence of style. On 2 July 1767 he inserted in the *London Chronicle*, in an epistle signed

'Probus', one of the letters printed in this volume; that which Lady Jane Douglas wrote in her greatest straits to Henry Pelham, the Prime Minister, soliciting aid from the Crown. On this Boswell made certain comments of his own in the general tenor of the Douglas defence—that so noble a woman could never have been guilty of the fraud alleged against her. On 24 Sept. in another letter signed 'Probus' he printed two more letters that later appeared in the volume under discussion: Lady Jane's letter to the Earl of Morton, and Mr. Pelham's reply to Lady Jane. He later printed in the *London Chronicle* two other communications referring to these letters. His interest in Lady Jane's letters at this juncture would lead one to suppose that he was getting the book ready for the press. Moreover, the letters as he prints them in the *Chronicle* agree much more closely with the version afterwards printed in the *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas* than with the original version given in the *Proofs*. For instance, Lady Jane's letter to the Earl of Morton is shortened in the *Letters* by the omission of a long paragraph. Exactly the same omission is made in the *Chronicle* version.

There are also some minor confirmatory points. Wilkie published the book, and it was Wilkie who published Boswell's other two books in the Douglas Cause. In fact, the *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas* are a companion volume to the *Essence*. Boswell's own copy of the *Essence* was bound up with a copy of the *Letters* (Sale of the Library of James Boswell, the Younger, *Bibliotheca Boswelliana*, 1825, lot 838). In the *Essence* (p. 75) Boswell entreats his readers to read also Lady Jane's 'moving letters', which very few people indeed could have done if they had had to go to the *Proofs*. This sentence (in a book published before the *Letters*) shows that Boswell knew that a popular edition was to be printed.

It is my own belief that these *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas* were more influential in securing the verdict for Archibald Douglas than all the ponderous tomes of Proofs and Memorials put together. The House of Lords practically decided the issue on the supposed character of Lady Jane Douglas, and it was this book more than any other which established Lady Jane's character in the public mind.

24. An Account of Corsica. 1768

An | Account | of | Corsica, | The Journal of a Tour | To that Island; | and Memoirs of | Pascal Paoli. | By James Boswell, Esq; | Illustrated with a New and Accurate Map of Corsica. |

Non enim propter gloriam, divitias aut honores pugnamus, sed propter liber- | tatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum vita amittit. | Lit. Comit. et Baron. Scotiae ad Pap. A. D. 1320. | [*Large engraved device of the arms of Corsica resting on an island, with supporters and much embellishment of foliage.*] | Glasgow, | Printed by Robert and Andrew Foulis for | Edward and Charles Dilly in the Poultry, London; | MDCCLXVIII.

Collation:—Octavo, pp. xxiv + 382; consisting of: Half-title, 'An Account | of | Corsica.' (center), 'Entered in Stationers Hall according to Act | of Parliament,' (below) (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]; *Dedication to Pascal Paoli*, etc., pp. [v]–viii; *Preface*, pp. [ix]–xxi (with blank reverse); Table of *Contents* (with blank reverse), pp. [xxiii–xxiv]; Text of *An Account of Corsica*, pp. [1]–239 (with blank reverse); Fly-title to *Appendix containing Corsican State Papers* (with blank reverse), pp. [241–2]; *Appendix*, pp. 243–58; Fly-title to *Journal of a Tour to Corsica; and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli* (with blank reverse), pp. [259–60]; Text of the *Journal*, etc., pp. [261]–382. The large folding engraved map of Corsica 12⅜ by 17¾ inches is inserted variously in different copies, but probably should face page 1. This bears in the lower left-hand corner a title, surrounded by an elaborate border, 'A New and Accurate Map of the Island of Corsica', surmounted by Boswell's arms, and is 'Respectfully inscribed to James Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck, by his most Obedient humble servant, Thos. Phinn. Sculpt. Edin. 1768'. This map in the first edition does not have the scale of miles, nor the division of the margins into degrees. There are headlines throughout corresponding to the text: *Dedication* (verso and recto), *Preface* (verso and recto), *An Account* (verso) *of Corsica* (recto), *A Tour* (verso) *To Corsica* (recto), etc. The signatures are A to Z (twenty-three sheets, each 8 leaves), plus Aa (7 leaves, the eighth probably blank), preceded by two unsigned leaves, a (one sheet of 8 leaves), and b (one quarter-sheet of 2 leaves), carrying the Half-title, Title, Preface, and Table of Contents. E_2 (pp. 67–8) and Z_3 (pp. 357–8) are cancels. Professor Tinker has a copy which preserves the original Z_3. The cancel seems to have been made merely to correct in the penultimate line of p. 357 the misspelling 'Mariana' for 'Mariani'. There are two forms of the cancel leaf, textually but not typographically identical. Of those copies I have

examined, some have the original type of Z_3 (as shown by Professor Tinker's copy) on the recto, with new (re-set) type on the verso; in others the condition is reversed. This shows that the need for the cancel must have been discovered while the types were still standing, which is readily understandable, as Z is the next to the last sheet in the book. The two forms of the cancel-leaf were evidently due to some expedient adopted in the printing-house to save time. What it was is made clear by the other cancel, E_2. Professor Tinker's copy here does not preserve the original leaf, but the cancel in his copy shows typographical variations from that in the Yale copy. In particular, ll. 11–12, p. 67, in Professor Tinker's copy are divided 'enjoying the noble fief of | Istria'; in the Yale copy, 'enjoying the noble fief of Is- | tria'. (Both the cancels were probably set from the original leaf, and as they diverge in the line division at this point and no other, it is possible that the change in the text was made here.) The type can be shown by other tests to be quite different, on both verso and recto, from that of the Yale copy. This is a pretty clear case of 'printing in duplicate' (R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 216). Four copies of each of the two cancel-leaves were printed at once, filling an entire octavo sheet In the first forme were imposed two rectos and two versos each of E_2 and Z_3; then the sheet was turned and the same type imposed on the reverse. The preliminary matter must already have been printed, otherwise the normal procedure would have been to work off the cancels on the blank leaves of the sheet which carried the Half-title, Title-page, and two leaves of b. But in that case nothing would have been gained by duplicate setting. At least two leaves appear in two states, some copies having the misprint 'fo' for 'of', p. 93, l. 6, and 'my own of' for 'of my own', p. 296, l. 18. The book was printed by the famous Foulis brothers, and in paper and type shows the usual distinction of that press. It is not, however, a favourable specimen of their accuracy, for it abounds in misprints. For example, Table of Contents, p. 141 for 241 (in some copies corrected by stamping over after printing); p. 70, l. 17, 'Ftruscans' (probably a broken 'E'); p. 137, l. 11, 'feelirg'; p. 172, l. 9, 'tha the'; p. 184, l. 4, 'Montgomery'; p. 327, ll. 9–10, 'speculatiions'. It hardly seems as though a professional reader could have looked over the sheets. Some of these misprints were, no doubt, corrected in the press, making other 'states' than those mentioned above.

AN ACCOUNT OF CORSICA,

THE JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THAT ISLAND;

AND MEMOIRS OF PASCAL PAOLI.

BY JAMES BOSWELL, Esq;

ILLUSTRATED with a New and Accurate MAP of CORSICA.

Non enim propter gloriam, divitias aut honores pugnamus, sed propter libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum vita amittit.
Lit. Comit. et Baron. Scotiae ad Pap. A. D. 1320.

GLASGOW,
PRINTED BY ROBERT AND ANDREW FOULIS FOR
EDWARD AND CHARLES DILLY IN THE POULTRY, LONDON;
M DCC LXVIII.

Issued 'bound' at six shillings. I have never seen an advertisement giving the price in boards, but copies in this state were undoubtedly sold. One in the possession of Mr. O. F. Soule of Syracuse, N.Y., is bound in light grey boards, without label, the leaves measuring $8\frac{5}{8}$ by $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The first edition of *Corsica* is not a rare book, and may be found in most large libraries. See the general notes following no. 30.

25. *Second Edition*, 1768

Collation:—Octavo, pp. xxiv + 384; consisting of: Half-title, as in first edition, but with notice of entry in Stationers' Hall omitted (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Title-page, as in first edition, but with 'The Second Edition' added above the device, and with the imprint 'London: | Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly in the Poultry. | MDCCLXVIII.' (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]; pp. [v]–[xxiv] as in first edition, except that the preface runs over on to p. xxii. The text of the *Account* occupies the same number of pages as in the first edition, but the *Appendix* runs from p. [241] to p. 260, and the *Journal of a Tour*, etc., from p. [261] to p. 384. P. 287 is wrongly numbered 187. The map is inserted between the Table of Contents and the Title-page, and, though printed from the same plate as that of the first edition, has had a 'Scale of Miles' added, and the margins marked off into degrees, with the legend (on the right) 'E. Longitude from Ferro'. The signatures are A to A a (twenty-four sheets, each 8 leaves), preceded by [a] (one half-sheet of 4 leaves), plus b (one sheet of 8 leaves), carrying the Half-title, Title, and introductory matter. There are two states of the *Table of Contents* (p. xxiii), some copies following the first edition in misprinting the reference to the *Appendix*, p. 141 instead of 241; in others this has been corrected.

It has been generally supposed that the second edition was a word-for-word reprint of the first, though differing in pagination. This is not true. Many changes were made in the punctuation, a few typographical errors were corrected, and a considerable number of Scotticisms were removed. The *Monthly Review* in its article on the first edition (Aug. 1768; xxxix. 149) remarked that 'scarcely a page was free from Scottish peculiarities', and proceeded to fill two pages with examples. Many of these, however, had already been corrected in the second edition. Without attempting a line-for-line collation, I have noted the following changes, which are probably only a small part of the whole. Some of these appear to

be better readings than those of the third edition. (The page reference is to the second edition, and the reading of the second édition precedes. Unless otherwise noted, the third edition has the same reading as the second.)

p. xvi, l. 2, *I* inserted.

p. 12, l. 12, *322* : *321*

p. 19, l. 13, *not one* : *none*

p. 20, ll. 7–8, *nature has placed a high and rocky mountain* : *a high and rocky mountain nature has placed*

p. 67, ll. 9–10, *An. 1200* : *the 1200* (so also third edition).

p. 67, l. 11, *eighth* : *eight* (so also third edition).

p. 68, l. 13, *used* : *was in use*

p. 84, l. 15, *remarkable* : *curious enough* (third edition, *very curious*).

p. 87, l. 17, *cultivate* : *labour*

p. 121, l. 8, *not long in recovering* : *not long of recovering* (third edition, *soon recovered*).

p. 132, l. 8, *used* : *had been in use* (third edition, *had been accustomed*).

p. 133, ll. 22–3, *notwithstanding* : *notwithstanding of* (so also third edition).

p. 134, ll. 14–15, *executed* : *followed out*

p. 139, l. 1, *owed* : *was owing* (so also third edition).

p. 201, ll. 5–6, *notwithstanding* : *notwithstanding of*

p. 228, l. 21, *hatred to* : *hatred at* (third edition, *hatred against*).

p. 232, l. 2, *are used* : *are in use* (third edition, *use*).

p. 287, l. 1, *hath had* : *had*

p. 291, l. 22, *droll* : *droll enough* (third edition, *pretty droll*).

From the fact that Boswell does not preserve all these readings in his third edition, and in some cases apparently deliberately returns to the reading of the first, I think it possible that some of them may have been made by the proof-reader for the press.[1]

The second edition copied the first in appearance as closely as possible, but compares with it rather unfavourably. Because of the

[1] Since this was set up, Col. Isham has shown me the following entry in Boswell's journal for 1768. There is a lacuna on each side of it which makes it impossible to fix the exact date, but it was subsequent to 30 March: '. . . Mr. Cumming the Quaker was there [at the Dillys] too, and the Reverend Mr. Mayo, who I found was the Person who had taken upon him to make some alterations in my language in the Account of Corsica; but which a violent letter from me to Dilly had prevented, all but one or two; and lucky was it, for sad alterations they were'.

demand for the book, a large part of the impression was bound while the sheets were still damp, so that many of the copies show 'off-set', either in part or throughout.

Issued in boards at 5*s.* 3*d.*, or 'bound' at 6*s.* I have never seen a copy in boards. The leaves of the copy in the British Museum, which have been trimmed, measure $8\frac{3}{16}$ by $5\frac{1}{16}$ inches. The second edition of *Corsica* is not a rare book, and may be found in most large libraries. See the general notes following no. 30.

26. *Third Edition*, 1769

Collation:—Octavo, pp. 400 (actually numbered xxx + one leaf + [33]–400); consisting of: Title-page, as in first edition (except for comma after 'Island' and motto divided 'li | bertatem'), with 'The Third Edition Corrected' added above the device, and the imprint 'London: | Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly | in the Poultry. | M DCC LXIX.' (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; Fly-title to *A Letter from The Right Honourable George Lord Lyttelton to James Boswell, Esq.* (with blank reverse), pp. [3–4]; Letter of Lord Lyttelton, pp. [5]–8; *Dedication to Pascal Paoli*, pp. [9]–12; *Preface*, pp. [13]–25 (25 verso is blank); *Preface to the Third Edition*, pp. [27]–30; Table of *Contents* (with blank reverse), pp. [31–2]; Text of the *Account*, etc., pp. [33]–263; *Appendix* (with Fly-title), pp. [265]–83; *Journal of a Tour*, etc. (with Fly-title), pp. [285]–400. Pp. 6–8, 10–13, 14–25, 28–30 are actually numbered with roman numerals. The volume bears opposite the Title-page a portrait of Pascal Paoli, 'Engrav'd [by J. Lodge] from an Original Portrait of Henry Bembridge, in ye Possession of James Boswell Esq^r.' The map, which is inserted between the Table of Contents and the Text, is identical with that of the second edition. The headlines are as in the first edition. The signatures are A to Z (twenty-three sheets, each 8 leaves), preceded by [a] and b (two sheets, each 8 leaves) carrying the Title-page and other preliminary matter. The book was issued without a Half-title. P. 217 is wrongly numbered 214, and p. 269, 262. The corrections in the third edition are numerous, but almost without exception minute. Boswell added a great many *k*'s ('to show Saxon original') inadvertently omitted in the previous editions, but abandoned 'forrest' and 'gulph' in favour of 'forest' and 'gulf'. Some more Scotticisms were removed; thus we have 'prettily' for 'prettily enough', p. 54, l. 15; 'recovered' for 'got back', p. 63, l. 1;

'ground' for 'grinded', p. 79, l. 5; 'a number of relations' for 'numerous parentage', p. 122, l. 20; 'I did not . . . find myself weary' for 'I did not . . . weary', p. 377, ll. 22–3. On the other hand, in some passages he returned to the reading of the first edition, as I have shown above. One of these, 'notwithstanding of', p. 162, l. 7, must be an oversight, as he has elsewhere altered to 'notwithstanding'. Mr. S. C. Roberts in his edition of *The Journal of a Tour to Corsica* has given (p. xv) a list of the variants in that portion of the book which he has reprinted (pp. 287–400). He has overlooked at least one, that noted above as on p. 377. I have myself collated the first chapter of the *Account* (pp. 43–85) with the first edition, and find only one change more important than the verbal ones noted above; viz. the correction on p. 64 of the translation of a passage from Livy, which Boswell refers to in his preface, pp. xxvii–xxviii. I believe, as Mr. Roberts has remarked, that the only really important textual change in the work arose from Boswell's revised estimate of the character of Signor Buttafuoco, who, since the publication of the first and second editions, had betrayed Casinca to the French. This resulted in the cancellation of several lines in praise of him at p. 380 and the insertion of a foot-note condemning him at p. 290. The third edition of *Corsica* is beautifully and accurately printed, and compares very favourably in appearance with the first, besides presenting a much better text.

Issued in boards at 5*s.* 3*d.*, and advertised later at 6*s.* 'bound'. I have never seen a copy in boards. The leaves, which have been trimmed, measure in one copy I have examined $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The third edition of *Corsica* is not a rare book, and may still be purchased cheaply. See the general notes following no. 30.

27. *Spurious Third (Second) Edition*, 1769

Collation:—This appears in more than one form. A copy in the British Museum runs as follows: Octavo, pp. xxx (so numbered; actually xxviii) + 384. This is a spurious edition made by binding up remainder copies of the second edition with the Title-page, portrait, and some of the introductory matter of the third. The Title-page, Fly-title to *Letter*, etc., and text of the *Letter*, etc. (pp. [i]–viii), seem to be identical with the corresponding pages in the genuine third edition, but prove upon close examination to have been printed from re-set type. The Title-page has a period instead of a semi-colon after 'Esq.', and divides the motto 'liber | tatem'.

After p. viii follows one entire sheet of eight leaves from the second edition, carrying the *Preface* (pp. [ix]-xxii) and the Table of *Contents* (p. xxiii, with blank reverse). Then comes the *Preface to the Third Edition*, copying closely the third edition, but from re-set type, and bearing wrongly the numbering of that edition; pp. [xxvii]-xxx. (It should be xxv–xxviii.) It will be noted that in order to carry out this clever scheme the binder had to omit altogether the *Dedication* and to place the Table of *Contents* in an extraordinary position. The text, pp. [1]–384, consists of the sheets of the second edition unchanged. The portrait is that of the genuine third edition: the maps in both were the same to begin with. Mr. Leonard Whibley has a copy which starts with the re-set Title-page, Fly-title, and *Letter* (pp. [i]–viii), but follows with pp. [v–xxiii] from the second edition; i. e. omitting the Preface to the Third Edition, but including the Dedication, two leaves pasted in and repeating the pagination of the *Letter*. The use of the genuine portrait and title-page vignette indicates that the Dillys must have been responsible for this unscrupulous scheme, which Boswell probably never knew about, for he had no property in the book, having sold the copyright.

The only copy of this spurious edition which I have been able to examine is in the Grenville collection of the Library of the British Museum (press mark G. 15755). Besides Mr. Whibley's I have never heard of any other. I should suppose that there must have been a considerable number issued in order to make it worth while to reprint the introductory matter from the third edition.

28. '*Third*' *Irish Edition*, 1768

An | Account | of | Corsica, | The Journal of a Tour | to that Island; | and Memoirs of | Pascal Paoli. | By James Boswell, Esq; | [*Motto as in first edition, but divided after* sed *and* simul *and with the comma incorrectly inserted after* nemo] | [*Long rule*] | The Third Edition. | [*Long double rules*] | Dublin: | Printed for J. Exshaw, H. Saunders, | W. Sleater, D. Chamberlaine, J. | Potts, and J. Williams. MDCCLXVIII.

Collation:—Duodecimo, printed in half-sheets, pp. xii + 282; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; *Dedication*, pp. [iii]–iv; *Preface*, pp. [v]–xii; Table of *Contents*, p. xii; Text of the *Account* and *Journal of a Tour*, pp. [1]–282.

The signatures are [A] to Aa (twenty-four half-sheets, each 6 leaves), and Bb (4 leaves, the last blank). The book (except for a partial levelling of Boswell's peculiar spellings) is a literal reprint of the second edition.

Issued before August 1768, for Boswell knew of it by that time. (See *Letters*, i. 163.) I have no details as to the published price. The leaves of a copy in my possession (which have been trimmed) measure $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 inches. I have also examined a copy in the possession of Mr. D. Nichol Smith. Both these copies are full-bound in calf.

29. '*Fourth*' *Irish Edition*, 1768

Collation:—This is a line-for-line reprint of the previous entry, except that the Title-page bears 'The Fourth Edition' and the imprint after 'Potts' reads 'J. Williams and W. Colles. | MDCCLXVIII.' The pagination is identical; pp. xii + 282, distributed as above.

I have no information as to the published price or the original binding. My collation is from a copy (trimmed and bound in calf) in the possession of Professor Tinker, the leaves of which measure $6\frac{7}{16}$ by $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches. There is also a copy in the possession of Dr. J. R. Sutherland, Stonehouse.

30. '*Fifth*' *Irish Edition*, 1769

Collation:—The text is practically a page-for-page reprint of the 'fourth' and the 'third', but occasionally divides the pages differently. The number of pages is the same. The Title-page, after 'James Boswell, Esq.', adds 'Ornamented with a | Striking Likeness of that Great General [i. e. *Paoli*]. | [*Motto as in* '*fourth*', *but with the comma correctly placed after* solummodo] | [*Long rule*] | The Fifth Edition | [*Long double rules*] | Dublin: | Printed for J. Exshaw, H. Saunders, W. Sleater, | D. Chamberlaine, J. Potts, J. Williams, | and W. Colles. | [*Short rule*] | MDCCLXIX.' The 'striking likeness' of Paoli was engraved 'by G. Byrne' after a fictitious portrait by J. Miller in the *London Magazine* for May 1768, which was said (xxxvii. 240) to have been drawn from Boswell's description and 'approved by him as a striking likeness'.

This edition was probably issued before the appearance of Boswell's third edition (1 May 1769), because otherwise it would have copied the genuine portrait of Paoli in that edition. The only copy of which I have heard is in the possession of the Rev. Dr. McKinlay,

who has kindly lent it to me for collation. The leaves of this copy (trimmed and bound in calf) measure $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

General notes on An Account of Corsica

In a letter sent to Walpole with a presentation copy of *Corsica* Boswell says that his 'first incitement to undertake the work' came from Walpole himself, who urged him in Paris on his way home from his tour to 'publish something in order to shew the Corsicans in a proper light' (*Letters*, i. 147). It is pretty clear, however, both from the *Journal of a Tour* itself and the notices sent to the newspapers before this meeting with Walpole, that the idea of writing a book on Corsica was formed while Boswell was still on the Island, if he did not go there with it in mind. It is probable that he began work on it as soon as he reached home. On 23 Oct. 1766 he wrote to Sir Alexander Dick in terms that imply that he had had it on hand for some time: 'I am going on with my *Account of Corsica*, and I hope to make it a tollerable book' (*Letters*, i. 92). He was probably resuming work on the manuscript at this time after an interruption caused by lack of materials. (See his Preface.) The preparation of the text was accompanied by an elaborate campaign of puffing; see my entries under the *London Chronicle* for the period (*post*, pp. 236–41). On 1 Feb. 1767 he wrote to Temple, 'The session will be up this day s'ennight. I shall then set myself down to my *Account of Corsica*, and finish it in the vacation. I have got more materials for it. . . . David Hume . . . is obliging enough to transact the publication of it for me with Andrew Millar' (*Letters*, i. 103–4). Andrew Millar, however, gave up business in this year, so that Hume's kind interposition was of no avail. On 30 March 1767 Boswell thought he should have the book finished in June (*Letters*, i. 109). On 8 April he gave an analysis of it to Lord Chatham, showing that he had the entire work outlined in its present form (*Letters*, i. 111). On 22 June he wrote as though the manuscript of the *Account* were finished; Temple was to visit him and give it his 'friendly revisal' (*Letters*, i. 113). On 6 Aug. 1767 he completed arrangements with Charles Dilly for the publication. He received one hundred guineas for the copyright, with the stipulation that the first edition should be printed in Scotland under his direction. This sum was to be payable three months after the publication of the work in London; Boswell actually received the money on 8 June 1768 (*Letters*, i. 118–19). This is the first of his books for which we have any certain information as

to financial arrangements. The copy seems to have gone through further criticism before being sent to press. Sir Alexander Dick, Lord Hailes, and Christopher Wyvill all read and criticized it. (15 Aug. 1767, to Sir Alexander Dick: 'Please return me by the bearer what you have of Corsica, as I am going to send it to my Lord Hailes.' 25 Aug. 1767, to Temple: 'Wyvill was so good as to come and sit a whole afternoon with me. He is an admirable critic on my *Account of Corsica*.' *Letters*, i. 121, 123.) Boswell had the first proof on 2 Sept. (*Letters*, i. 126). It seems, however, that only the *Account* was then completed, for on 9 Sept. he promised to send to Temple the manuscript of the *Journal*, which Temple had not seen. He had sent it by 2 Oct. Temple was to read it carefully, six sheets at a time, mark his suggestions for revision, and send it on to Wyvill (*Letters*, ii. 129, 131). This can only refer to a manuscript, for on 9 Nov. the Foulises were not yet through the *Account* (*Letters*, i. 137). What appears to be Boswell's last draft before final copying of the *Account* (unfortunately not the *Journal of a Tour*) was among the Malahide papers and is now in Colonel Isham's collection. It is in Boswell's holograph, by his own numbering 229 folio pages, $12\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, written on both sides. There is a very wide margin, in which Boswell has made extensive additions and substitutions. He has also occasionally inserted queries of an adviser (possibly Lord Hailes) on passages which worry him, especially on the rendering of certain words from the Italian. On 8 Oct. 1767 the *London Chronicle* printed the following advertisement, marked in Boswell's file as his own composition:

'Early in the Winter will be published, Neatly printed in one Volume, Octavo, AN ACCOUNT OF CORSICA, its Situation, Extent, Air, Soil, and Productions. A concise View of its Revolutions from earliest Times. Its present State, with Respect to Government, Religion, Arms, Commerce, Learning, the Genius and Character of its Inhabitants. With the JOURNAL of a TOUR to that ISLAND, and MEMOIRS of PASCAL PAOLI. Also an original Letter from the General of the Nation; and an Appendix, containing Corsican State Papers. By JAMES BOSWELL, Esq. Illustrated with a new and correct Map of CORSICA. Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly, in the Poultry.'

The first edition of *An Account of Corsica* was actually out by 13 Feb. 1768 (*Lond. Chron.* xxiii. 149), although it was not entered in the Stationers' Register until 15 February.[1] The impression was

[1] The announcement of publication in the *London Chronicle* must have been

3500 copies (see below). The first edition was sold out within six weeks, and a new edition (also of 3500 copies) advertised for 1 April 1768 (*Lond. Chron.* xxiii. 307). This second edition supplied the public demand for a year. The third edition was advertised for 1 May 1769, with the announcement that 'Mr. Boswell's Account of Corsica has been so well received by the Public that two numerous Editions of 3500 Copies have been sold within the Space of a few Months; and the Book is so highly esteemed abroad that it has been translated into the French and Dutch Languages, and printed at Amsterdam and Lausanne' (*Lond. Chron.* xxv. 395). This does not give a full list of the translations. As Boswell proudly recorded later (1791; *Europ. Mag.* xix. 326), it was 'translated into Dutch, German, Italian, and twice into French'—all within a year of its publication. Besides this, there were, as listed above, at least three editions printed in Ireland. The *Account of Corsica* was a book of the hour. Many more copies of it were sold in Boswell's lifetime than of either of his great works in the biography of Johnson, and it achieved abroad a much more remarkable success. *An Account of Corsica* was five times translated, while the *Life of Johnson* had to wait nearly one hundred and forty years for a complete translation into any foreign tongue. But it may be added that the *Account of Corsica* has never been completely reprinted (in any language) since 1789.

31. *Abridgement of Corsica*, 1794

A geographical and historical description of the Island of Corsica, from the earliest Accounts to the present time; shewing the various Revolutions which the Island has undergone: also, an Account of its present State, with respect to Government, Situation, Production, etc.

The above title is listed in *Gent. Mag.* for October 1794 (lxiv. 934) with the following brief review: 'A short compilation, chiefly from Mr. Boswell, very useful on the present occasion, when the Corsicans and Britons are united under one Sovereign'. I have never seen a copy of the book, nor, indeed, have I found it listed elsewhere.

premature. Col. Isham has shown me the following entries in Boswell's journal for 1768:

'[Feb.] 15 Monday. This day I heard from Mr. Dilly that my Account of Corsica was ready for publication; so I ordered Mr. Neill to give out copies in Scotland.

'18 Thursday . . . My Book was published this day, and felt my own importance. . . .'

Translations of Corsica, 1768–1789

The list of translations of *Corsica*, which is long and interesting, deserves fuller treatment than it has yet received, for it shows that so early as 1769 Boswell must have been on the continent one of the best known of English authors; better known, indeed, than Johnson himself. These translations, however, are very scarce in English libraries. While I believe the following to be a complete list of the titles, I have been able to inspect personally only a part of them.

32. *German*, 1768[1]

Jacob Boswells, Esq. | historisch-geographische | Beschreibung | von | Corsica | nebst | vielen wichtigen Nachrichten | und Anecdoten | vom | Pascal Paoli | dem General der Corsen. | [*Rule*] | Aus dem Englischen nach der zweyten Ausgabe übersetzt | und mit einer neuen und vollständigen Landcharte | von Corsica erläutert. | [*Rule*] | Leipzig, | verlegts, Caspar Fritsch | 1768.

Collation:—Octavo, pp. xiv + 346; consisting of: Title-page (as above, with blank reverse), *Vorbericht des Uebersetzers* (dated at end 'Leipzig, den 21. Sept. 1768.' and signed 'A. E. K.'), 4 pp.; *Vorrede des Verfassers*, 8 pp.; making seven leaves of preliminary matter, unnumbered; *Einleitung*, pp.[1]–10; Text of 'Beschreibung von Corsica', pp. [11]–238; Fly-title to *Tagebuch*, etc., one unnumbered leaf; Text of 'Tagebuch einer Reise nach Corsica', pp. [239]–346. The signatures are:)(, seven leaves, of which the second, third, fourth, and fifth are signed; A to Y_4 in eights; Z, one leaf. (As the text of the last page appears to be compressed to finish off, it is probable that Z, the title-page, and $)(_4$ and $)(_5$ of the preliminary matter were printed on the four missing leaves of Y.) The folding map, 18 by 12 inches, a close copy of Boswell's, including even his coat of arms, but substituting a German title and Italian for the few other English words, appears at the end in Mr. Whibley's copy.

I have never been able to inspect a copy of this edition, but have compiled this collation from notes furnished me by Mr. Leonard Whibley, who has a copy in his possession. It is bound in marbled

[1] In all the German translations recorded in this bibliography, modification or umlaut is indicated by a small superimposed 'e' rather than by the modern two dots. I have found it necessary everywhere to substitute the modern symbol.

paper boards with calf back and corners; the leaves (which have been trimmed) measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Neither Heinsius nor Kayser mentions this edition in his *Bücher-Lexicon*. It probably sold for about the same price as the 'improved' edition of the following year, i. e. 22 neugroschen. There is also a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. See the general note after no. 33.

33. *'Improved' Edition*, 1769

Jacob Boswell's . . . historisch-geographische Beschreibung von Corsica . . . | Verbesserte Ausgabe. | [*Ornamental Rule*] | Leipzig, | verlegts, Casper Fritsch | 1769.

Collation:—Octavo, pp. 308 + 5 leaves; consisting of: Title-page (as in first edition, but ending as above), *Vorbericht des Uebersetzers* (dated as in the first edition, but signed in full, 'A. E. Klausing, P. Ph.P.'), *Vorrede des Verfassers*, *Einleitung*, and Text of 'Beschreibung von Corsica', pp. [1]–214; Text of the *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Corsica* (with separate Fly-title), pp. [215]–308; *Register*, 5 leaves; signatures, [A] to U_8 in eights, the last leaf being blank. The map, which is from the same plate as that in the first edition, appears in my copy opposite the first chapter (p. 21). As I have been unable to compare this with the first edition, I do not know what the 'improvements' consisted of. They may have amounted to no more than a somewhat more elegant format, and the addition of the index.

Issued in brownish speckled wrappers or flexible paper boards, without label. The leaves of a copy in my possession (which have been trimmed) measure $7\frac{11}{16}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Both Heinsius and Kayser list this edition as the first, and give the price as 22 neugroschen.

The translator, Anton Ernst Klausing (1729–1803), was Professor of Christian Archaeology at the University of Leipzig, and for many years Curator in the University Library. He compiled a German-English dictionary and made many other translations from the English, including a *New Collection of Sterne's Sermons* (1769), a *Collection of English Plays* (1770), a selection from the letters of Elizabeth Rowe with the title *Freundschaft im Leben* (1771), and Lord Kames's *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774). (See J. G. Meusel, *Das gelehrte Teutschland*, and H. W. Rotermund's *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zu Christian Gottlieb Jöchers allgem. Gelehrten-Lexikon* s.v. 'Klausing'.)

In his preface Prof. Klausing, after remarking on the debt which the public owes Boswell for having furnished the world with an accurate description of Corsica and especially with the interesting and valuable anecdotes of Paoli, states that his sole purpose is to make the work more widely useful by translating it. He at first had the intention of enlarging it with various appendixes and notes of his own, but abandoned the project as doing violence to the plan of Boswell's work. He hopes in the future to publish these materials on Corsican history separately. Meanwhile he has attempted to give 'auch blos die boswellische Beschreibung, die mit vieler Einsicht, Freymüthigkeit[1] und Richtigkeit abgefasset ist. . . . Sonst habe ich mich bey der Uebersetzung selbst bemühet, den Sinn des Verfassers richtig und genau auszudrücken, und sie auch im Deutschen, so viel möglich, rein und fließend zu machen.'

This seems to be a candid and accurate statement of the facts. The Dedication is omitted, and the Preface somewhat condensed by the omission of most of Boswell's acknowledgements and the statement of his orthographical creed. The whole of the text is, I believe, completely and faithfully translated, but nearly all the quotations in foreign languages are removed by being translated into German, presented as footnotes, or reduced simply to references. In this respect the translation shows much better arrangement than the original. The Italian documents, presented by Boswell in appendixes, are translated into German and given as footnotes in the proper places. The translator has exercised more than ordinary care, for in some instances Boswell's references are expanded or made more explicit.

34. *The Same with Italian Imprint*, 1769

Emil Weller in *Die falschen und fingierten Druckorte* (p. 102) records an edition of this translation bearing the date 1769, but with the imprint 'Livorno'. This may be a mistake, for it is hard to understand why the imprint should have been falsified after at least one edition had appeared with the actual publisher's name. However, such fictitious imprints were extremely common in German books of the eighteenth century, often with no apparent reason. For instance, another of Klausing's translations from the English, an account of the Orthodox Church in Russia by John Glen King, bears on the title-page the imprint 'Riga', though a second imprint at the end shows that it was really printed at Leipzig.

[1] See footnote, p. 63.

35. *So-called Second Edition*, 1770

Jacob Boswells . . . historisch-geographische Beschreibung von Corsica . . . Leipzig, Fritsch, 1770.

The 'improved' edition of 1769 is, properly speaking, the second edition. An edition called the second on the title-page seems, however, to have appeared in 1770. It is listed in C. G. Kayser's *Bücher-Lexicon*, Rotermund's *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zu Christian Gottlieb Jöchers allgem. Gelehrten-Lexicon*, and J. G. Meusel's *Das Gelehrte Teutschland*. The price seems to have been the same as that of the first edition.

36. *So-called Third Edition*, 1789

Jacob Boswells . . . historisch-geographische Beschreibung von Corsica . . . Leipzig, Hahn [? Fritsch], 1789.

Listed with Hahn as publisher in C. G. Kayser's *Bücher-Lexicon*. But Prof. A. Kornhuber's careful bibliography ('Ueber Corsica', *Schriften des Vereines zur Verbreitung naturwissenschaftlicher Kenntnisse in Wien*, 24. 112) makes no note of a change in imprint. The price seems to have been the same as that of the first edition.

37. *German Abridgement*, 1769

Auszug aus Boswells Beschreibung von Korsika, aus dem Englischen, nebst einigen Anekdoten von dem General Pascal Paoli. Augsburg, 1769.

Octavo, 1 vol.

This abridgement was the work of Hieronymus Andreas Mertens (1743–99), a German Philologist, Rector of the Gymnasium of Augsburg. He also made an abridgement (in French) of Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII*, and prepared many school texts, such as *Der kleine Lateiner für das Augsburgische Gymnasium*, and *Raccolta di pezzi scelti dei più eccellenti scrittori per apprendere ad un tratto la favella italiana*. Never having seen the book, I cannot say whether it represents an independent translation or is only an abridgement of Klausing.

The price is not given by Kayser. (See M. Holzmann and H. Bohatta, *Deutsches Anonymen-Lexicon*, and C. G. Kayser's *Bücher-*

Lexicon, s. v. Boswell; J. G. Meusel's *Das Gelehrte Teutschland* and *Lexicon der vom Jahr 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen teutschen Schriftsteller*, s. v. Mertens.)

38. *Dutch Translation*, 1769

This was issued in two parts (not, properly speaking, volumes), with temporary half-titles and title-pages; in the second part were included a general half-title and a title-page for the complete volume. The work seems more often to appear with the temporary title-pages, which are as follows:

Part I:

Bericht | van | Corsica, | Dagverhaal eener Reize | naar dit Eiland, | en | Gedenkstukken van | Pascal Paoli. | Door | James Boswell, | Schildknaap. | Met eene nieuwe en nauwkeurige | Kaart van Corsica, | Ter opheldering van dit Werk; | En versierd met een welgelykend Afbeeldsel van den | Generaal Pascal Paoli. | Non enim propter gloriam, divitias, aut honores pugnamus; sed | propter libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus nisi simul cum | vita amittit. | Lit. Comit. & Baron. Scotiae ad Pap. A.D. 1320. | Naar den derden Druk uit het Engelsch in zuiver | Nederduitsch vertaald. | Eerste Stuk. | [*Printer's ornament*] | Te Amsterdam, | By Martinus de Bruyn, Boekverkooper | voor aan in de Halsteeg by de Nes. 1769.

The title-page of the second part omits 'Met eene nieuwe . . . Paoli', substitutes 'Tweede Stuk' for 'Eerste Stuk', and has in the last line of the imprint 'vooräan' instead of 'voor aan'. The general title-page has the same wording as the title-page of the first part, except that for 'Eerste Stuk' and the printer's ornament there is substituted the copper-plate vignette of Boswell's own editions. The line-division is somewhat altered, and 'vooräan' replaces 'voor aan in the imprint.

Collation:—Octavo, one volume in two parts, with continuous pagination, 2 p. l. + pp. xx + 435; consisting of: Eerste Stuk, Half-title, Title; sign. *, apparently six leaves, *Brief van den Lord Lyttelton*, etc., *Opdragt aan Pascal Paoli*, etc., part of *Voorrede*, pp. [i]–xii; sign. **, four leaves, remainder of *Voorrede*, pp xiii–xx; A to K_6 in eights, pp. [1]–156. Tweede Stuk, Half-title, Title, [General Half-title, General Title], L to Ee_4 in eights, pp. [157]–435. The Eerste Stuk contains the preliminary matter and first

two chapters of the *Account*; the Tweede Stuk contains Chapter III of the *Account* (pp. 157–260), the *Appendix containing Corsican State Papers* (*Aanhangsel*, etc., pp. 261–297), and the *Journal of a Tour to Corsica* (*Dagverhaal*, etc., pp. 299–435). The head of Paoli ('Reinr. Vinkeles, delin. et sculp. 1769, Amstr.') is not from the engraving in Boswell's third edition, but appears to derive ultimately from Carington Bowles's large (full-length) mezzotint of the same portrait. The mezzotint bears the date 1 May 1769. The portrait appears in the Yale copy between the letter from Lord Lyttelton and the dedication (pp. ii and iii). The map, closely copied from Boswell's, but substituting Dutch for the few English words and the arms of Corsica for Boswell's, although his crest and supporters are retained, appears in the Yale copy opposite p. 1.

Probably issued sewed, with wrappers. There is a copy of the Eerste Stuk in the Library of Yale University. The Library of the University of Amsterdam has both parts, the second containing the general half-title and title-page in the position I have indicated above. My collation of the second part (which I have not seen) was most kindly furnished me by the Librarian, Dr. J. Berg. The leaves of the Yale copy measure $7\frac{15}{16}$ by $4\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

This is in many respects the most interesting of the translations of *Corsica*. Except for the omission of Boswell's views on spelling in the preface, the special preface to the third edition, and the table of contents, it seems to follow the English original word for word, and even to copy closely its general appearance. The Greek and Latin quotations, which are summarily dealt with in the other translations, are here left in the text unabridged just as Boswell printed them. The appendix of Corsican state papers (in Italian) is preserved with its own fly-title, as in Boswell. In fact, there are reasons for thinking that Boswell exercised a personal supervision of this translation. In the newspaper advertisement which announced his third edition he stated that 'the book . . . has been translated into the . . . Dutch language, and printed at Amsterdam'. The translation, however, can hardly then have been published. In fact the title-page asserts that it was made from the third edition, though this is not strictly true. I have compared the first part with the English original, and find it to have been translated from the *second* edition. Dr. Berg has kindly examined the second part for me, and reports that it omits the laudatory paragraph concerning Buttafuoco and adds the footnote condemning him

(pp. 413, 305). It must therefore have been made from the third edition, or from a copy of the second corrected by the author. The latter hypothesis seems the more probable. As the changes in the *Account* were all verbal, Boswell probably thought it hardly worth while to make them in copy that was to serve merely for translation. In any case, he clearly knew of the translation before its publication.

The Eerste Stuk contains on the reverse of the title-page a *Kort Bericht voor dit Eerste Stuk* by the translator or publisher, but it is undated and sheds no light on this particular problem. It merely states that the publisher has decided to issue in two parts a translation of this excellent work, the first part to include Boswell's first two chapters, the second, 'dat op dit eerste ten spoedigsten volgen zal', to contain the remainder. This notice also seems to promise a second volume ('Deel'), which is to continue the history of Corsica through to its final subjection by France. This, of course, would have been entirely independent of Boswell's book.

I have so far been unable to identify the translator. The book is not included in Doorninck's *Vermommde en Naamloose Schrijvers*.

39. *French Translation*, 1769[1]

Etat | de la Corse, | Suivi d'un Journal | d'un Voyage dans l'Isle | et des Mémoires | de Pascal Paoli, | par | Mr. James Boswel [*sic*] | Ecuyer. | Orné d'une Carte nouvelle & exacte de la | Corse, & des Manifestes originaux, | Traduit de l'Anglais et de l'Italien, | par Mr. S. D. C. | Avec une Préface du Traducteur. | Tome I [II]. | [*Printer's ornament*] | A Londres. | [*Double rules*] | M.D.CC.LXIX.

Collation:—Duodecimo, 2 vols. Vol. 1, pp. xlviii + 234; consisting of: Title-page, with Boswell's Latin motto and a French translation on the reverse, pp. [i–ii]; *Preface du Traducteur*, pp. iii–x; *Epitre Dedicatoire A Pascal Paoli*, etc., pp. xi–xiv; *Preface de l'Auteur*, pp. xv–xxxi; *Introduction*, pp. xxxii–xlvi; *Table des Matieres*, pp. xlvii–xlviii; Text of *Etat de la Corse*, pp. [1]–234. Signatures, $*_{12}$, $**_{12}$, $A–I_{12}$, K_6, L_4 (the fourth leaf is blank). The volume

[1] In my transcriptions of the title-pages and headings of French works I have introduced accents only where they appear in the originals. It should be noted, however, that those letters which would normally bear accents but appear here without them are generally capitals in the originals.

division is made arbitrarily in the middle of Chapter III. This volume bears opposite p. 1 a very large folding map, $24\frac{3}{4}$ by $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches, finely engraved and tinted. It is entirely independent of Boswell's, and is said in its title to have been drawn and engraved by Arrivet 'd'après une grande Carte manuscrite levée sur les lieux par ordre de M. le Marechal de Maillebois, par le S^r^. Robert de Vaugondy Géographe ord. du Roi . . .' It bears the imprint, 'A Lausanne, chés François Grasset et Compagnie, 1769'. (The imprint on the title-page is certainly fictitious; Grasset probably printed the text as well as the map.) Vol. II, pp. ii + 369; consisting of: Title-page, pp. [i–ii], Text of *Etat de la Corse*, pp. [1]–115; *Appendice contenant les Pieces Justificatives*, etc. (with separate fly-title), pp. [117]–156; *Relation d'un Voyage en Corse*, etc. (with separate fly-title), pp. [157]–325; *Appendix*, etc., pp. 326–369; *Errata*, p. [370]. Signatures, one unsigned leaf, A–P_{12}, Q_5 (the title-page is probably the missing sixth leaf).

My collation is from a copy (trimmed and re-bound) in the possession of the Rev. Dr. McKinlay. There is also a copy, lacking the map, in the Bodleian Library, the two volumes in one in a contemporary vellum binding. The leaves of Dr. McKinlay's copy measure $6\frac{7}{8}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. This work probably appeared early in the year, for Boswell speaks of it as already published in the newspaper advertisement for his third edition (April 27. See, however, what is said on this point above under no. 38).

This translation was the work of two persons, although only one is mentioned on the title-page. The fly-title to the *Relation d'un Voyage*, however, bears the statement that that portion of the book was 'traduit de l'Anglais par Madame * * * *'. J. M. Quérard (*Les Supercheries littéraires*, iii. 619) has identified 'Mr. S. D. C.' as Gabriel Seigneux de Correvon (d. 1776), councillor of the city of Lausanne, president of the agricultural society of that city, and correspondent of the English Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. He wrote a few original works of an historical or legal cast, and several dissertations on agricultural subjects. Besides Boswell's book he translated other works in German and English, including Addison's *Evidences of the Truth of the Christian Religion* (Quérard, *La France littéraire*, ix. 37). I have no idea who 'Madame ****' was. Boswell's Zélide undertook a translation of *Corsica* into French, but broke it off because the jealous author would not allow her to abridge the work (*Lettres de Belle de Zuylen* . . .

publiées par P. Godet, p. 329). Moreover, she would naturally at this time have been called 'Mademoiselle'. It is somewhat striking, however, to find that this translation of the *Journal* is abridged, and in a way that would have been especially displeasing to Boswell.

The omissions in the *Account* seem to be confined mainly to the quotations in foreign tongues. The 'Corsican State Papers', which Boswell gave in an appendix, are presented both in French (ii. 117–56) and the original Italian (ii. 326-69). The Greek quotations, however, are all either omitted or paraphrased in French. Much of the Latin also is omitted or relegated to footnotes. A more striking omission was that of all the passages in the *Journal* relating to Johnson (pp. 334–6 in the first edition). 'Madame ****' apologizes for this in a note. 'Comme les ouvrages de cet admirable Auteur, le *Rambler*, l'*Idler*, &c. ne sont point traduits en Français, sans doute par la difficulté de rendre dans une langue moins abondante la force du génie, la richesse des idées & la beauté du stile de l'original, & qu'il est par conséquent peu connu hors de l'Angleterre, j'ai cru que je devais omettre ce que Mr. Boswell en dit dans une relation où l'on ne cherchera que ce qui intéresse Paoli & la Corse. J'en ai usé de même dans quelques autres endroits de ce journal qui m'ont parû ne contenir que des choses étrangères au sujet, absolument personnelles à Mr. Boswell, qui, j'espére, me pardonnera ces omissions' (p. 269). On the other hand, M. de Correvon has faithfully translated Boswell's prefatory dissertation on English spelling, which, one thinks, must have been more meaningless to French readers than any number of passages on Johnson. He has also allowed himself the luxury of an occasional note, such as that on the word 'romantick', which he finds himself unable to render by anything closer than 'extrêmement singulier' (p. 33). With these qualifications the work seems to be a faithful and adequate translation.

40. *Second Edition*, 1769

État de la Corse, suivi d'un Journal d'un Voyage dans l'Isle . . . par Mr. James Boswel . . . A Londres, 1769.

Wilhelm Engelmann, in his *Bibliotheca Geographica* (p. 398), records a second edition of this translation with the above date and states (almost surely in error) that it was published by Varrentrapp at Frankfort-on-Main. I have found no mention of this edition elsewhere.

41. *Second French Translation*, 1769 [1]

Relation | de | L'Isle de Corse, | Journal | d'un | Voyage dans cette Isle, | et | Mémoires | de | Pascal Paoli. | Par Jaques [*sic*] Boswell, Ecuyer. | Enrichie d'une nouvelle & très exacte | Carte de la Corse. | Non enim propter gloriam, divitias aut honores pugnamus, | sed propter libertatem solummodo, quam nemo bonus, | nisi simul cum vitâ amittit. | Lit. Comit. & Baron. Scotiæ ad Pap. A. D. 1328. | Traduit de l'Anglois. | Sur la seconde Edition. | Par J. P. I. Du Bois. | [*Printer's ornament*] | A La Haye, | Chez Frederic Staatman, | Libraire, sur le Kalvermarkt. | M.DCC.LXIX.

Collation:—Octavo, pp. xvi + viii + 239; consisting of: Half-title, 'Relation | de | L'Isle de Corse.' (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]; *Epitre Dedicatoire A Pascal Paoli*, etc. and *Preface*, pp. [v]–xiv; *Table des Articles*, etc., pp. [xv]–xvi; *Introduction* (with new pagination), pp. [i]–viii; Text of *Relation*, etc., pp. [1]–160; Text of *Journal d'un Voyage*, etc. (with separate Fly-title), pp. [161]–239; List of *Fautes à Corriger*, p. [240]. The Roman numerals in the pagination of the Introduction are distinguished from those of the preceding preliminary matter by being put in italic. There are headlines throughout corresponding to the text. The signatures are * (one sheet, 8 leaves), pp. i–xvi; ** (one half-sheet, 4 leaves), pp. i–viii; A to P_8 (fifteen sheets, each 8 leaves). The folding map ('A. Polak, Fecit 1769'), a close copy of Boswell's in the exact size of the original, but substituting French for the few English words, and with a new ornamental border for the title, appears opposite p. 1.

I have seen only one copy, that in the possession of Professor Tinker. This is bound in a contemporary mottled calf, the leaves (which have been trimmed) measuring $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{11}{16}$ inches.

In the newspaper advertisement for his third edition (27 April 1769; *Lond. Chron.* xxv. 395) Boswell mentions the Dutch translation and a French translation 'published at Lausanne'—i. e. that of Seigneux de Correvon and Mme. ****. He was clearly at the time ignorant of the existence of Dubois's version, which, however, is based on his second edition, and therefore probably appeared fairly early in 1769. It is entirely independent of Seigneux de Correvon's version, and would

[1] See footnote, p. 69.

properly be called an abridgement rather than a translation. Some passages are translated literally, some greatly condensed by paraphrase, and many omitted altogether. A few of the quotations in Greek, Latin, and Italian are preserved as footnotes, but the greater part are merely paraphrased in French. The appendix of Italian documents is omitted. Much of the matter of Boswell's own text has been turned into notes. I have noticed only one independent addition by the translator: an anecdote concerning Paoli which is printed as a footnote on the last two pages, being signed 'Rem. du Trad.'.

J. P. I. Dubois, whose very Christian names seem to have disappeared from the memory of man, was the author of a book of songs for Freemasons, a collection of Lives of the Dutch Governors of the East Indies, and collaborated in the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*. Besides these he is credited in the catalogue of the Library of the British Museum with a work entitled *La Sainte Bible, mise en Vers*. The only biographical information I have found concerning him is that he was private secretary to the Polish Ambassador in Holland (note by A. A. Barbier in the *Correspondance littéraire par Grimm, Diderot, Raynal, etc.*, 1877–82, ix. 64).

Grimm, in an interesting note on this translation, shows how important Boswell's book was considered on the Continent: 'On a publié une " Relation de l'île de Corse, ou Journal d'un voyage dans cette île, et Mémoires de Pascal Paoli," par Jacques Boswell, écuyer, traduit de l'anglais par J.-P.-J. Dubois. Cet ouvrage, imprimé en Angleterre pour la première fois en 1767 [1768], jouissait d'une telle réputation, que le gouvernement de France crut devoir prendre des mesures pour empêcher la traduction de paraître ; mais ces mesures, comme il arrive, n'ont fait qu'augmenter la curiosité du public. Elle a enfin paru en Hollande l'année dernière, et il vient d'en percer quelques exemplaires à Paris, parce que le procès de la Corse est plaidé et jugé, et que personne ne s'en occupe plus aujourd'hui. Mais depuis que les Français sont maîtres de cette île, il me semble qu'ils attaquent la véracité de M. Boswell, et qu'ils prétendent que sa relation n'est qu'un roman. Il m'est impossible d'avoir un avis sur ce procès.' (*Ibid.* ix. 64–5.)

In addition to these published editions, Mme du Deffand mentions two other (apparently) unpublished translations in French made during 1768. Of these, one, by her secretary Wiart, seems to have been of the *Journal* only ; the other, made by some unnamed author at the direction of the Duc de Choiseul, was evidently complete

(See *Lettres de la Marquise du Deffand à Horace Walpole . . . publiées par Mrs. Paget Toynbee*, i. 421, 445, 449, 464–5, 468-9, and especially 462, 478, 480.)

42. *Italian Translation*, 1769

This is in two separate volumes, as follows, Vol. I:

Relazione | della | Corsica | di | Giacomo Boswell Scudiere | Trasportata in Italiano | dall' originale Inglese stampato in | Glasgua nel 1768. | Non enim propter gloriam, divitias, aut honores pugna- | mus: sed propter libertatem solummodo, quam nemo | bonus nisi simul cum vita amittit. | Lit. Comit. & Baron. Scotiae ad Pap. A.D. 1320.| [*Broken rules*] | Londra 1769 | [*Double rules*] | Presso Williams, [*sic*].

Collation:—Octavo, pp. 280; consisting of: [A] to S_4 in eights, Title-page, Dedication *Al Signor Pasquale de' Paoli*, *Prefazione*, pp. [1]–20; Text of *Relazione della Corsica*, pp. 21–280. The pages are actually numbered throughout in Roman numerals. Opposite the title-page is an engraved portrait of Paoli, quite unlike Boswell's. In the copy in the British Museum a folding map of Corsica (not Boswell's) appears at the beginning of the text. It ought, perhaps, to have been bound in the second volume.

The title-page of Vol. II appears in two forms. I give that of the copy in the Library of Yale University, which seems to be the earlier.

Giornale | del Viaggio fatto nell' Isola | di Corsica | da Giacomo Bosvvell, | Con alcune Memorie del Generale, | Pasquale Paoli, | Che serve di Tomo II. alla Relazione | della Corsica. | Olim meminisse juababit. | Virg. | [*Double rules*] [*Two lines of broken rules*] | Londra 1769. | [*Double rules*] Presso Williams.

There are also copies of this volume in the British Museum, the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. These have in the title 'Bosvvel', no mark of punctuation after 'Generale' or 'Paoli', and 'juvabit' for 'juababit'. The original title-page was evidently cancelled to remove this shocking misprint. 'Boswel' for 'Boswell' seems to us a change for the worse, but the translator uses both forms indiscriminately. Except for the title-pages, however, the three copies are shown by misplaced letters and misprints to be identical.

Collation:—Octavo, pp. 132; consisting of: [A] to I_2 in eights, Title-page, Text of *Giornale*, etc., pp. [1]–131; *Errata*, p. 132. The make-up is identical with that of the first volume, though the book is considerably thinner. The collation in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale places the map in this volume.

I do not know the translator. The work is not mentioned in G. Melzi's *Dizionario di Opere Anonime*. The imprint is fictitious, the type, paper, and general appearance showing clearly that the book had a Continental origin.

This translation omits (in the *Account*) the whole of the Introduction, all the Greek quotations (sometimes substituting paraphrases in Italian), some of the notes and references, and all the English poetry. The long extract from the Book of Maccabees in the *Journal* is given in the Vulgate version. Otherwise it seems to be a faithful and complete translation. There are, as already noted, copies of both volumes in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; of the *Giornale* alone in the Library of Yale University and the Library of the University of Edinburgh. The leaves of the copy in the British Museum measure $7\frac{15}{16}$ by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches. The inclusion of the portrait probably indicates that it came out after Boswell's third edition, which was the first of his editions to be so adorned. Mr. Fitzgerald's frequent references to an edition of this translation as having appeared one hundred years after Boswell's book are a pure mistake, arising from a misreading of the date.

Separate Editions of the Journal of a Tour to Corsica

The preceding entry records the first instance in which the *Journal* and the *Account* were separated from each other. The *Journal* has since been twice reprinted by itself.

43. *Boswell's Correspondence with Erskine, and his Journal of a Tour to Corsica*, 1879

See entry 9. The *Journal of a Tour*, with an Introduction, occupies pp. 99–237. Although he reprints the preface to the third edition, Dr. Hill strangely gives the text of the first, including the paragraph in praise of Buttafuoco, which Boswell was so anxious to have suppressed, and omitting Boswell's footnote on the subject. The introduction and original notes have the sterling quality of all Dr. Hill's editing.

44. *The Journal of a Tour to Corsica*, 1923

The Journal of a Tour to Corsica; & Memoirs of Pascal Paoli. By James Boswell, Esq. . . . Edited, with an introduction, by S. C. Roberts. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1923

Octavo, pp. xvii + 110, with frontispiece of Boswell in the dress of an armed Corsican chief.

This is a literal reprint of the third edition, with an original introduction and a bibliographical preface of great value. The dedication and prefaces of the *Account* are not included.

45. British Essays in Favour of the Brave Corsicans, 1769

British Essays | in Favour of the | Brave Corsicans: | by | Several Hands. | Collected and Published | by James Boswell, Esq: | In medium mors omnis abit, perit obruta virtus. | Nos in conspicua sociis, hostique carina | Constituere Dei. Præbebunt æquora testes, | Præbebunt terræ, summis dabit insula saxis. | Lucan. | London: | Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly, | In the Poultry. | MDCCLXIX.

Collation:—Duodecimo, 1 p. l. + pp. xviii + 136; consisting of: Half-title, 'British Essays | in Favour of the | Brave Corsicans.', with note, 'Entered in Stationer's [*sic*]-Hall', on reverse, 1 p. l.; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; *Explanation of the Frontispiece* (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]; *Preface*, pp. [v]–xii; Table of *Contents*, pp. [xiii]–xviii; Text of *British Essays*, pp. [1]–136. The engraved frontispiece, 'Magna Britannia Corsicam Protegit', faces the Title-page. There are no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between round brackets, with the exception of p. 88 and pp. 133–6, which have square brackets. There are catch-words throughout. The signatures are B to F (five sheets, each 12 leaves) plus G (one half-sheet of 6 leaves) and H (2 leaves); the whole preceded by two unsigned leaves carrying the Half-title and Title-page, and A (8 leaves) carrying the rest of the preliminary matter. From the watermarks and other indications I infer that G was printed in half-sheets, and that the Half-title, Title-page, and two leaves of H were printed on the four missing leaves of A.

Issued 'sewed', with wrapper. An uncut copy in this state was recently sold by Messrs. Elkin Mathews. Copies were also issued in

BRITISH ESSAYS

IN FAVOUR OF THE

BRAVE CORSICANS:

BY

SEVERAL HANDS.

COLLECTED AND PUBLISHED

BY JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ:

In medium mors omnis abit, perit obruta virtus.
Nos in conſpicua ſociis, hoſtique carina
Conſtituere Dei. Præbebunt æquora teſtes,
Præbebunt terræ, ſummis dabit inſula ſaxis.
LUCAN.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR EDWARD AND CHARLES DILLY,
IN THE POULTRY.
MDCCLXIX.

boards. Mr. Charles McCamic has a copy bound in greyish blue paper boards, brown back. It has no label. The leaves, which are entirely untrimmed, measure $7\frac{5}{8}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The published price was *2s.* (The book had been advertised before publication for *2s. 6d.* See below.) There are copies in the Library of Yale University, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and the National Library of Scotland.

Although dated 1769, *British Essays* really appeared in December 1768. On 22 Nov. (xxiv. 491) the *London Chronicle* printed the following advertisement: 'In a few days will be published, beautifully printed in one volume, duodecimo, adorned with an elegant frontispiece by Miller, price *2s. 6d.*, British Essays in Favour of the Brave Corsicans. By several Hands. Collected and published by James Boswell, Esq. Printed for E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry; and sold by J. Robson, New Bond-street; and J. Walter, at Charing Cross'. On 1 Dec. (xxiv. 524) the *Chronicle* repeated the advertisement announcing that the book was published, and that the price was '*2s.* sewed'. (The price previously advertised may have been for 'bound' copies.)

The question of the authorship of these essays (which are really not essays, but open letters reprinted from various newspapers) is one which can hardly ever be more than conjecturally settled without the aid of Boswell's own key, which is no doubt in existence somewhere. In his preface he says that some were written by himself, 'others by a gentleman highly respectable for his talents and worth, whose name would do honour to any cause; and one of them by a friend, whose political abilities have been acknowledged by the highest authority. The greatest part, however, have been furnished by persons unknown to me.' Mr. Leask (*Life of Boswell*, p. 72) thinks that the friend whose political abilities had been so highly commended was Barlow Trecothick, at that time alderman, and later Lord Mayor, of London. This attribution is presumably based on a passage in the *Life of Johnson* (iii. 201), 'That Trecothick could both speak and write good English is well known. I myself was favoured with his correspondence concerning the brave Corsicans.' This certainly sounds as though Trecothick wrote at least one of the *Essays*, though it is possible that the reference is merely to private correspondence regarding subscriptions for the Corsican cause, in which Trecothick took a very prominent part, his name appearing in many of the advertisements for funds inserted in the newspapers. Samuel Vaughan, another wealthy merchant and city politician, was also much interested

in raising money for the Corsicans, and may have contributed to the *Essays*. In two letters written to him in September 1769 Boswell refers to him as 'one who so generously exerted himself for the brave Corsicans', and as 'the zealous friend of the brave Corsicans' (*An Appeal to the Public on behalf of Samuel Vaughan, Esq.*, pp. 133, 135).[1] A third possible candidate is Boswell's friend, Tom Cumming, the Quaker, who is known to have carried on an extensive trade in the Mediterranean. However, the most certain clue for identifying some of the contributors is found in a letter of Boswell's to Sir Alexander Dick, 7 May 1768: 'I solicit everybody for essays to keep up the spirit. Will you send me one? Will you persuade Sir John Cunninghame [Sir Alexander's brother] and Mr. Keith to contribute?' (*Letters*, i. 157). Mr. Keith was the Robert Keith of the note in the *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas* (see *ante*, p. 48), formerly British Minister at Vienna, later British Minister at St. Petersburg, and at this time enjoying a pension of £1,000 a year for his services to the Government. I take him pretty certainly to be the 'friend whose political abilities had been acknowledged by the highest authority'; a phrase which would hardly apply to Trecothick, for he was a Wilkite and decidedly unpopular with the Government. It also seems reasonable to suppose that Sir Alexander was the 'gentleman highly respectable for his talents and worth, whose name would do honour to any cause'.

Boswell's own file of the *London Chronicle* (in the Library of Yale University), where several of these essays originally appeared, furnishes an important negative means of identification; indeed, disconcertingly negative, for some of the essays that one would almost unhesitatingly ascribe to his pen appear there marked, but not with the distinctive mark which certainly indicates his authorship. In view of the fact that he there marked, and indexed as his, news-items of only a line or two, it is quite impossible to suppose that he failed to mark these long contributions through inadvertence. The file also is disappointing for this particular quest in that some of the copies containing the essays are entirely missing; probably because Boswell cut them up for printer's copy. Not one of those essays which survives, however, is marked as his, which assures us he told the truth when he said that the greater part of his collection was written by persons unknown to him.

The following is a list of the various essays with such notes on the sources and such conjectures on the authorship as I have been able to make.

[1] For a description of this work, see Appendix I.

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Essay I. [*The publick attention called to the invasion of Corsica.*] Signed, 'A Constant Reader' 1

See note on Essay II.

Essay II. [*Fatal effects to Great Britain from the French taking Corsica.*] Signed, 'An English Merchant' 3

These two essays appeared in *Pub. Advt.*, 3 May 1768. The first is nothing more than a brief introduction to the second, and was plainly written by Boswell. In the original version it ends with this sentence, omitted in *British Essays*: 'I should have made Copies of the enclosed [i. e., Essay II] for several of our news-papers, but I hope such of them as are animated with the Spirit of Liberty, will not scruple to transcribe from the Public Advertiser any masterly Essay of such a Tendency as this.' The *London Magazine* heeded this plea, and reprinted Essay II in its number for that month (xxxvii. 253). The letter, which is dated April 1768, purports to have been written from Bristol, by an exporter who deals extensively with Corsica. Were it not for the evidence of the *London Chronicle* on Essay IV, however, I should be inclined to think that Boswell wrote it himself. See the note on Essay IV.

Essay III. [*The acquisition of Corsica by the French shewn to be prejudicial to most of the states of Europe.*] Signed, 'Monitor' 11

This first appeared in *Pub. Advt.*, 19 May 1768, and originally contained a reference to the letters printed in the *Advertiser* on 3 May. It was reprinted in *Lond. Chron.*, 21 May 1768 (xxiii. 484). This copy is missing from Boswell's file, so that we cannot certainly tell whether or not he had any connexion with it. It was pretty certainly, like Essays I and II, sent in to the *Public Advertiser* by Boswell, and was, if not written, at least solicited by him.

Essay IV. [*The great advantages of cultivating a trade to Corsica.*] Signed, 'An English Merchant' 19

This first appeared in *Pub. Advt.*, 27 May 1768. The *Lond. Chron.*, 31 May (xxiii. 519), reprinted it, omitting the first three paragraphs. These serve to connect it to the other letter by 'An English Merchant' (Essay II), which had not appeared in the *Chronicle*. Boswell has not marked it in his file, which shows that he certainly did not write that portion (the greater part of the letter) reprinted in the *Chronicle*. As it is reasonable to suppose that

Essay II and Essay IV really were written by the same person, I naturally conclude that Essay II is not Boswell's composition either. However, as Essay I is pretty certainly his, it seems probable that both these were written by one of his acquaintances to whom he had applied for assistance, as he had to Sir Alexander Dick. He thereupon secured the publication in the *Public Advertiser*, and may have revised the text somewhat.

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Essay V. [*A subscription proposed for the Corsicans, like that for the Queen of Hungary.*] Signed, 'An Englishman' . 27

I find this in *Pub. Advt.*, 1 June 1768. The first half (ending with 'by our (their) silence') was printed as an ordinary news paragraph in *Lond. Chron.*, 4 June (xxiii. 534). The plea for a subscription, the respectful reference to 'Mr. Boswell', and the general relation it bears to Essay VII, make one strongly suspect that it came from Boswell's pen, but the part which appeared in the *Chronicle*, though marked to show that he had noticed it, is not marked as his. See the note on Essay VII.

Essay VI. [*The rising of the seamen in London shewn to be occasioned by want of employment in trade to Corsica.*] Signed, 'P. J.' 31

As Mr. Leask has pointed out (*Life of Boswell*, p. 73), this is the only one of the essays which has enough Boswellian touches to make an attribution to him on internal evidence certain. Besides a highly characteristic paragraph (quoted by Leask) on the well-being of sailors, the essay also contains (p. 37) a familiar reference to 'Mr. (now Sir John) Dick, the British consul at Leghorn'. It was Boswell who had been chiefly instrumental in transforming 'Mr.' into 'Sir John' Dick. (See *Letters*, i. 88, n. 5.) I cannot find that this essay was printed anywhere before its appearance in *British Essays*.

Essay VII. [*The amazing supineness of the British Ministry in tamely suffering the French to invade Corsica.*] Signed, 'An Englishman' 41

I have found this only in *Lond. Chron.*, 21 June 1768 (xxiii. 588), where the heading 'To the Printer', rather than 'To the Printer of the *London Chronicle*', shows that it was reprinted from some other paper, probably the *Public Advertiser*, though I failed to find it there, perhaps because the file I searched (that in the *British*

Museum) was defective. The *Chronicle* omitted the first paragraph, for the reason that it serves as little more than a connecting link to Essay V, which had not appeared in that paper. Boswell has not marked the letter as his. Moreover, 'An Englishman' seems to have been a real person and a regular contributor to the newspapers on political issues. (See *Lond. Chron.*, xxiii. 604, 615.) This letter is dated Berks., June 17, while Essay V purports to have come from 'Grosvenor-Square'. The first paragraph of Essay VII, if genuine, gives some interesting evidence for identifying the author. He has 'retired to the country', he says, 'in order to prepare materials for the history of the reign of George III'. Until the original copied by the *Chronicle* is found, however, we cannot be certain that Boswell did not write this paragraph himself in order better to connect the two essays.

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Essay VIII. [*Contrast between the British and French with regard to Corsica.*] Signed, 'R.' 51

I have no information as to the authorship of this Essay, but see no reason for supposing it Boswell's.

Essay IX. [*A Comparative View of Rome, Great Britain, and Corsica.*] Signed, 'A. A.' 55

This was first printed in *Lond. Chron.*, 4 Feb. 1768 (xxiii. 119), and reprinted in *Pub. Advt.* for the next day. It was originally signed 'A Briton', and dated 30 Jan. instead of 12 Jan., as in *British Essays*. Boswell's file shows that it was not his composition. It is the earliest in date of all the essays in the book, and may, indeed, have suggested to Boswell the idea of forming such a collection.

Essay X. [*The Corsicans really free. True Revolution principles should engage the British to assist them.*] Signed, 'N. L.' . 61

I have no certain information as to the authorship of this Essay, but think it may be the one by Robert Keith (see above). It is not by Boswell, for it makes the distance from Genoa to Corsica 100 miles more than that given in the *Account of Corsica*.

Essay XI. [*The Bourbon family compact concerned in the French invasion of Corsica.*] Signed, 'Archimedes' . . . 69

Preceded and followed by asterisks, as though an extract from a longer composition. I see no reason to suppose it Boswell's.

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Essay XII. [*The cause of Corsica recommended to the publick-spirited merchants of the city of London.*] Signed, 'O. P.' . 73

This was printed in *Pub. Advt.*, 6 July 1768. I think it is Boswell's. It is quite in his style, and proposes a subscription, especially for the purpose of purchasing artillery.

Essay XIII. [*Great Britain should send a fleet to prevent the conquest of Corsica.*] Signed, 'A Sincere Lover of his Country' 81

An answer to some letter signed 'M'. I see no reason to suppose it Boswell's.

Essay XIV. [*A connexion with Corsica not to be looked upon in the same light with continental connexions.*] Signed, 'A Merchant' 85

An answer to some letters signed 'Ctesiphon'. It may be by Boswell.

Essay XV. [*The people of Great Britain should instruct their representatives with regard to the protection of Corsica.*] Signed, 'T. H.' 93

This appeared in *Pub. Advt.*, 12 July 1768. Its political cast seems too whiggish for Boswell. It may, like the following, be by Samuel Vaughan.

Essay XVI. [*Corsica of more importance to Great Britain than Gibraltar or Minorca.*] Signed, 'Philo-Merx' . . . 99

The author says (p. 101) that he has been in Corsica, but his letter does not sound like Boswell. He has a trick of pleonastic enumeration: 'proposed, debated upon, entered into, and prosecuted' (p. 99); 'perused and collated' (p. 100); 'ceded, yielded, and given up' (p. 102), that seems unlike our author. On the other hand, one of Samuel Vaughan's letters to Boswell shows this same characteristic: he hopes to see an administration in England that will 'boldly demand, recover, and effectually maintain their rights, as stipulated in the treaty of Aix la Chapelle'. (*An Appeal to the Public on behalf of Samuel Vaughan, Esq.*, p. 136.)

Essay XVII. [*The wicked dispositions of the French, in giving out that Paoli had joined their interest.*] Signed, 'A Briton' 109

Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, 5 July 1768 (xxiv. 12). This number is missing from Boswell's file, but I hardly think the letter

his. 'A Briton' seems to have been a real person and a frequent contributor to the *Chronicle*.

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Essay XVIII. [*The Genoese having transferred Corsica to France, the British proclamation against assisting the Corsicans is void.*] Signed, 'Cosmopolite' 113

This calls for a subscription, and mentions the association of gentlemen in Scotland who had sent ordnance to Paoli. It is therefore either Boswell's or Sir Alexander Dick's. I incline to the latter hypothesis.

Essay XIX. [*Corsica compared to Saguntum.*] Signed, 'Regulus' 121

Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, 30 June 1768 (xxiii. 620). This issue is missing from Boswell's file. 'Britons' (p. 124, l. 2) stood originally 'Englishmen'. It is by the same author as the following; possibly Sir Alexander Dick, though it does not seem likely that he would have called himself a 'free-born Englishman'.

Essay XX. [*The true sons of freedom in Britain will not suffer Corsica to be added to the French dominions.*] Signed, 'Regulus' 129

Reprinted, with some mistakes in the Latin, from *Lond. Chron.*, 30 July 1768 (xxiv. 101). This number is missing from Boswell's file. The essay is by the same hand as the preceding.

46. Verses in the Character of a Corsican. 1769

Verses, | In the Character of a Corsican | At Shakespeare's Jubilee, | At Stratford-upon-Avon, Sept. 6, 1769. | By James Boswell, Esq;

Collation:—One folio leaf, unpaged, printed on one side, the other being entirely blank. At the top is a heading (as above), and the poem follows, twenty-three heroic couplets grouped in four widely spaced paragraphs. There is no other printing anywhere on the leaf, but from Boswell's own information (see below) it appears that it was printed at Stratford. The text is identical with that which appeared in the newspapers and magazines, except for details of spelling, punctuation, and capitalization. To the version in *Lond. Mag.* (see below) Boswell also added a Latin footnote, 'Feminis lugere honestum est. Viris meminisse. Tacitus' to ll. 39–40:

> 'In Man's firm Breast conceal'd the Grief should lye,
> Which melts with Grace in Woman's gentle Eye.'

Issued as a broadside, probably gratis. The unique copy in the Isham collection, entirely untrimmed, measures $12\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Although this broadside is quite new in Boswellian bibliography, the verses themselves are well known because of their appearance in many of the periodicals of the day (*Lond. Chron.*, xxvi. 256; *Lond. Mag.*, xxxviii. 455; *Scots Mag.*, xxxi. 488). In the autobiographical memoir which he published in *Europ. Mag.* (xix. 405) just after the appearance of the *Life of Johnson*, Boswell complacently recorded his appearance at the Jubilee as follows: 'Thither Mr. Boswell repaired, with all the enthusiasm of a poetical mind, and at the masquerade appeared in the character of an armed Corsican Chief. . . . Such an opportunity for the warbling of his Muse was not neglected, and he wrote and printed at Stratford the following verses, in the character of a Corsican.' From Capt. Edward Thompson's satirical poem, *Trinculo's Trip to the Jubilee* (1769, p. 29), we learn further that he stood in his costume handing out copies of the broadside to all who would take them:[1]

'Vain Boswell here stood like a Corsican drest,
Distributing lines which he writ;
'Twould have puzzled e'en Shakespeare to say which were best,
His poesy, hist'ry, or wit.'

On the strength of this evidence I announced the existence of the broadside in *N. & Q.*, Aug. 22, 1925 (cxlix. 131–2), though at that time no copy was known, and entered it in this bibliography as a 'lost work'. However, while the book was in press, a copy turned up in Germany, and was secured by Col. Isham, through whose kindness I am able to include a description.

[1] This seems to have been a libel. The truth probably is that Boswell *intended* to distribute the verses in this fashion, but failed to receive them in time. Col. Isham has shown me the following entry in Boswell's journal for 1769:

'Thursday, 7th September. . . . This was the night of the Ball in Mask, when I was to appear as a Corsican Chief. I had begun some verses for the Jubilee, in that character: but could not finish them. I was quite impatient. I went home and forced myself to exertion & at last finished what I intended. . . . There was a fellow called Fulke Weale here, who advertised Printing at an hour's notice! . . . To him I went. But Mr Angelo's fireworks turned his head, & made him idle. . . . I then went to the Bookseller & Printer of the Place Mr Harting. He had a lad from Baskerville's at Birmingham of Scots extraction, his name *Shank*. I found him a clever active fellow; & set him to work directly. He brought me a proof to the Masquerade Ball about two in the morning. But could not get my verses thrown off in time, for me to give them about in my Corsican dress.'

47. Donaldson's Shakespeare. 1771

The | Works | of | Shakespear. | In which | the Beauties observed by Pope, | Warburton, and Dodd, are pointed out. | Together with | the Author's Life; a Glossary; copious Indexes; and, a List of the various Readings. | In Eight Volumes. | [*Long double rules*] | Edinburgh: | Printed by A. Donaldson, and sold at his Shop, | corner of Arundel-Street, Strand, London; and | at Edinburgh. | [*Short double rules*] | M.DCC.LXXI.

Collation:—Eight volumes, duodecimo, printed in half-sheets. Vol. 1, 4 p.l. + pp. lxxii + 332; consisting of: general Title-page, special Title-page to vol. 1, Dedication, 2 l., verso of second blank, four unsigned leaves; sig. a to f in sixes, pp. i–lxxii of prefaces and other introductory matter; sig. A to Ee_4 in sixes, pp. 1–332, comprising the text of *The Tempest*, *A Midsummer-night's Dream*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *Measure for Measure*.

There is a copy of this work, trimmed and full-bound in calf, in the British Museum. I find it advertised for £1 in *Edin. Advt.*, July–Dec. 1772, *passim*. For Boswell's connexion with it see the note following no. 48.

48. *Second Issue*, ? 1773 (dated 1771)

This is a re-issue of the same sheets, with new leaves cancelling the general and special title-pages. The only difference is in the imprint, which reads, 'Edinburgh: | Printed by Alexander Donaldson. | Sold at his Shop, | No. 48, East corner of St. Paul's | Church-yard, London; and at Edinburgh. | [*Short double rules*] | M. DCC. LXXI.' In spite of the date of the imprint, this re-issue must have appeared subsequent to 1 July 1773, for at that date Donaldson's shop was still in Arundel Street. By 1 Jan. 1774 he had transferred to St. Paul's Churchyard. (Imprint to *Edin. Advt.*, which Donaldson published. Any one who has access to vol. 20 of this newspaper can discover the exact date of the removal.)

There is a copy of this issue, trimmed and full-bound in calf, in the possession of Mr. D. Nichol Smith, who has kindly lent it to me for collation. The leaves measure 7 by $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Boswell's connexion with this work amounted to no more than

THE

WORKS

OF

SHAKESPEAR.

IN WHICH

The BEAUTIES obſerved by POPE, WARBURTON, and DODD, are pointed out.

TOGETHER WITH

The AUTHOR's LIFE; a GLOSSARY; Copious INDEXES; and, a Liſt of the VARIOUS READINGS.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by A. DONALDSON, and ſold at his Shop, corner of Arundel-Street, Strand, London; and at Edinburgh.

M. DCC. LXXI.

writing for Donaldson the dedication to David Garrick. The edition is a reprint of Hugh Blair's, first published at Edinburgh in 1753 by W. Sands, Hamilton and Balfour, and other publishers. Boswell's authorship of the dedication is established by a letter from him to Garrick, 18 Sept. 1771 (*Letters*, i. 185): 'Mr. Donaldson, who published the last edition of Shakespeare, is a prodigious happy man, on your having inscribed him among the freemen of Drury-Lane Theatre. . . . I think I may take a little crop of praise for my dedication of the edition, since it has had such an effect.' As this edition is now somewhat hard to obtain, I add the whole of Boswell's dedication:

'To David Garrick, Esq.

'Sir,

Had I no other reason for dedicating to Mr. Garrick, but to embrace an opportunity of publicly testifying my admiration of his talents, I might with propriety do myself the honour to prefix his name to any valuable book of which I endeavour to give a correct and elegant edition.

'But an edition of Shakespear is inscribed to you with such peculiar propriety, that it cannot fail of meeting with universal approbation. You, Sir, by animating his characters on the stage, have shewn the British nation the astonishing treasures of the Father of their Drama: And I even question if ever his genius was sufficiently acknowledged by the general voice till you appeared.

'This edition claims your patronage in a particular manner, because it is exactly printed from the one published at Edinburgh in 1753, which I have heard you honour with your approbation.

'After so many Poets and great men, in different departments, have exhausted almost every vein of panegyric in your praise, it would be presumption in me to attempt to offer any thing. I shall only say, that all your panegyrists have not expressed more than I feel; and that I am proud of this opportunity of subscribing myself,

Sir,

Your much obliged
and most obedient
humble servant,

Edinburgh,
Jan. 1. 1771. The Publisher.'

49. Reflections on the Bankruptcies in Scotland. 1772

Reflections | on the late alarming | Bankruptcies | in | Scotland. | Addressed | to all Ranks: but particularly to the | different Classes of Men from whom | Payments may soon be demanded. | With | Advice to Such, how to conduct | themselves at this crisis. | [*Double rules with small ornament in the centre*] | Edinburgh: | Printed in the Year M.DCC.LXXII. and sold by all the | Booksellers in Scotland. | (Price, Six-Pence.)

Collation:—Octavo printed in half-sheets, pp. ii + 23; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Text of the *Reflections*, etc., pp. [1]–23. P. [24] is blank. There are no head-lines, the pages from 2 to 23 being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. There are catch-words throughout. The signatures are A to C (three half-sheets, each 4 leaves), preceded by an unsigned leaf carrying the Title-page. (This probably originally had another leaf which wrapped around the back.)

Issued 'stabbed', without wrapper. The leaves of the copy in the Yale University Library measure $8\frac{1}{16}$ by 5 inches, but have been considerably trimmed. There is also a copy in the Signet Library. This lacks the last page.

This pamphlet was advertised in *Edin. Advt.*, 10 Nov. 1772 (xviii. 302), as follows: 'On Thursday next will be published, and sold by all the booksellers in Scotland, (Price Sixpence), Reflections on the late alarming Bankruptcies in Scotland.... Orders may be addressed to A. Smiton, book binder in Edinburgh. Additional allowance will be made to those who order in quantities.' 'Thursday' was 12 Nov. In *Edin. Advt.*, 20 Nov. 1772 (xviii. 321), appeared a laudatory review of the pamphlet, clearly written by Boswell himself. The book was called forth by the widespread financial depression in Great Britain during that year, said to have been the worst the country had experienced since the days of the South-Sea Bubble. Boswell was certainly much concerned with the troubles of the times; in writing to Temple on 24 Sept. he speaks of 'the late multitude of bankruptcies' (*Letters*, i. 187). In this letter he may have made some mention, now lost, of his authorship of this pamphlet, for the text as now preserved is fragmentary. There can be no reasonable doubt that he was the

author, for the evidence on the point, both external and internal, is abundant and unequivocal.

The external evidence is furnished by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge's *Catalogue of the Sale of the Auchinleck Library*, 1893, which also enables us to prove that Boswell wrote *Observations on the Minor*. (See *ante*, p. 5.) Lot 88 of this catalogue consists of eight items, including a copy of this pamphlet, which is set down as 'by J. Boswell'. The cataloguer does not seem to have been at all given to attributions without manuscript authority; in the whole catalogue only these two anonymous works are for the first time ascribed to Boswell. We know that the first had in it an inscription of some length in Boswell's own autograph which puts the attribution beyond all doubt; and it seems only reasonable to suppose that there was also an autograph inscription in the second, but that it said no more than what the cataloguer has transcribed—viz., 'by J. Boswell'.

The whole pamphlet is written in Boswell's most characteristic vein. He inveighs (pp. 7–9) against the 'abominable spirit of levelling' which he regards as the fountain-head of all the evils of the age, and quotes some 'elegant lines' from 'Dr. Goldsmith' to enforce his point. (Goldsmith is also approvingly quoted in both the 'Letters to the People of Scotland', and several times in *The Hypochondriack*.) He laments (pp. 12–13) the 'hard-drinking' of Scotland, in terms strongly reminiscent of his letters to Temple, and the essays on Drinking published later (1780) in *The Hypochondriack*. He even (p. 13) makes use of an example employed in one of the Essays: 'Surely being accustomed to see men drunk (a situation into which the Athenians forced their slaves, that their youth might, by beholding its ugly effects, have an abhorrence at the vice), must not a little hurt the delicacy of our ladies.' When he wrote his essays on Drinking eight years later, he had learned that it was not the Athenians but the Spartans to whom he should have referred: 'If some people will fill themselves drunk, and be exposed like the slaves of the Spartans, it is their own fault: they do it for pleasure; they have their reward.' (*Lond. Mag.*, xlix. 199.)

He refers approvingly (p. 12) to the *Poems* of Hamilton of Bangor, always a favourite with him (see *Life*, iii. 150; v. 43; *The Hypochondriack*, *Lond. Mag.* l. 510), and (p. 13) to 'Colonel Forrester, who wrote *The Polite Philosopher*' ('Colonel Forrester, of the Guards, who wrote *The Polite Philosopher*,' *Life*, iii. 22). The most striking piece of evidence of this sort, however, is the excessively long quotations (three-and-a-half pages out of a total of only twenty-three) which

REFLECTIONS

ON THE LATE ALARMING

BANKRUPTCIES

IN

SCOTLAND.

ADDRESSED

To ALL RANKS: But particularly to the different Claſſes of Men from whom Payments may ſoon be demanded.

WITH

ADVICE to SUCH, how to conduct themſelves at this Criſis.

EDINBURGH:

Printed in the Year M.DCC.LXXII. and ſold by all the Bookſellers in Scotland.

(PRICE, SIX-PENCE.)

he inserts from Francis Osborne's *Advice to his Son* (1656–8). We know that he had been reading this neglected author in April of this very year, having been directed to him by a quotation in the *Spectator*. Osborne, indeed, formed the subject of an argument between him and Johnson, who thought Osborne 'a conceited fellow' whom Eighteenth Century boys would throw stones at (*Life*, ii. 193–4), But this is not the most remarkable thing about the quotations from Osborne. Both here and in *The Hypochondriack*, where he is three times mentioned (*Lond. Mag.*, xlvi. 491; xlviii. 293, 295), he appears as 'Sir' Francis Osborne, though he never boasted a title of any sort. By the time Boswell published the *Life*, he had learned his mistake—probably from Malone—and there Osborne appears as plain 'Mr.' This detail alone would perhaps be enough to establish the Boswellian authorship of the pamphlet.

As in all Boswell's 'characteristical pamphlets' the matter of the text bears only the most fortuitous connexion with the title. There is a good deal said about the bankruptcies, and some good, but sufficiently obvious, advice given the unfortunate men who had failed, but in the pamphlet as a whole Boswell has merely taken the bankruptcies as an opportunity for airing his own pronounced and characteristic views on subordination, fashionable society, drinking, etc.

50. Decision of the Court of Session on Literary Property. 1774

The | Decision | of the | Court of Session, | upon the Question of | Literary Property; | in the Cause | John Hinton of London, Bookseller, Pursuer; | against | Alexander Donaldson and John Wood, | Booksellers in Edinburgh, and James Meurose | Bookseller in Kilmarnock, Defenders. | Published by | James Boswell, Esq; Advocate, | One of the Counsel in the Cause. | [*Long double rules*] | Edinburgh: | Printed by James Donaldson, for Alexander Donaldson, and sold at | his Shops, N° 48. St. Paul's Church-yard, London, and Edinburgh; | and by all the Booksellers in Scotland. | M.DCC.LXXIV.

Collation:—Quarto, printed in half-sheets, 1 p. l. + pp. iv + 37; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on preliminary unpaged leaf; the *Summons or Libel*, etc., followed by a list of the

THE

DECISION

OF THE

COURT OF SESSION,

UPON THE QUESTION OF

LITERARY PROPERTY;

IN THE CAUSE

JOHN HINTON of LONDON, Bookſeller, Purſuer;

AGAINST

ALEXANDER DONALDSON and JOHN WOOD, Bookſellers in EDINBURGH, and JAMES MEUROSE Bookſeller in KILMARNOCK, Defenders.

PUBLISHED BY

JAMES BOSWELL, Eſq; ADVOCATE,

One of the COUNSEL in the Cauſe.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by JAMES DONALDSON, for ALEXANDER DONALDSON, and ſold at his Shops, N° 48. ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, LONDON, and EDINBURGH; and by all the Bookſellers in SCOTLAND.

M. DCC. LXXIV.

Counsel, pp. [i]–iv; Text of the Decisions, pp. 1–37. There are no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. There are catch-words throughout. The signatures are A to I (nine half-sheets, each 2 leaves), preceded by a (one half-sheet, 2 leaves) carrying the *Summons*, and an unsigned leaf carrying the Title-page, and followed by an unsigned leaf carrying p. 37. (This probably forms with the Title-page one half-sheet, wrapped around the other signatures.) The pamphlet was issued without a Half-title. There are two 'states' of at least three leaves: a_2 (pp. iii–iv), I_1 (pp. 33–4), and I_2 (pp. 35–6).

1. P. iv has in the first state the apparently false catch-word 'Mr. Maconnochie'. In the second state an additional sentence (paragraph) is added at the bottom: 'On the 27th, the Judges delivered their Opinions', and the catch-word is changed to 'Lord'. This, I think, testifies to a change of plan on the part of the publisher while the pamphlet was printing. The early advertisements of the book (see *post*) state that 'it is expected that the Pleadings of the Counsel in this cause will soon appear'. It seems clear to me that Boswell's first plan was to include the pleadings *in this book*, following them by the decisions of the judges. On p. iv stands a list of the counsel, then this statement: 'The cause came before the Lord *Coalston* Ordinary, who took it to report, and ordered informations... The Court also appointed a hearing in presence, which began upon the 20th of July 1773: All the six counsel spoke, and the pleadings lasted four days.' This ends the page. We should naturally expect, after this preface, to find on the next page the speeches of the counsel, not those of the judges, and the tell-tale catch-word 'Mr. Maconnochie' shows that this was the original plan, for 'Mr. Allan Maconnochie' was one of the counsel for the pursuer or complainant. However, after some sheets had been printed, Donaldson or Boswell decided for some reason not to include the speeches of the counsel. The speeches of the judges (that part of the book in arabic pagination) were probably already printed, it having been the intention to include the speeches of the counsel as prefatory matter, with roman pagination. All Donaldson had to do was to change the catch-word at the bottom of p. iv to 'Lord' ('Lord Kennet' being the first words on p. 1). To make a better transition, however, he added the new sentence 'On the 27th, the Judges delivered their Opinions'. Otherwise the type of the two pages is identical.

2. P. 34, ll. 6–5 from bottom, read in the first state, 'there are but few who read Latin'. The second inserts 'comparatively' before 'but'. The type otherwise is identical.

3. I_2 (pp. 35–6). There are extensive changes in this leaf. P. 35, ll. 26–8 read in the first state, 'but law does not enforce the return that he should receive'; in the second, 'but common law does not enforce the return that he should receive, and therefore a reasonable provision is made by statute'. Ll. 32–3 in the first state read, 'Acts of parliament, as well as all the decrees of the Star Chamber, are not in favour of authors, but of booksellers'. The second state has, 'All the acts of parliament, etc.'. At the bottom of the page in the second state the addition of the words in l. 28 causes a running over of two lines to p. 36. The first state has the catch-word 'rary' ('lite-/rary'), the second, 'The'. P. 36, second paragraph, in the first state ends with the sentence, 'One of my brethren mentioned, etc.'. In the second state this sentence has been transferred to the beginning of the paragraph. P. 36, ll. 25–6, in the first state 'historians', in the second 'historian'. The type for these pages, except for the noted changes and the substitution of a semicolon for a comma in p. 35, l. 14, is the same.

Because of the make-up of the book, it is hard to say whether we have here genuine 'states' (changes made in only a part of the sheets while printing), or cancels (new leaves intended to replace the old in all copies). As the signatures consist of only two leaves, the normal way to cancel a leaf would have been to reprint the whole signature. Since I and a were among the last signatures printed, the original type would probably still have been standing when it was decided to cancel. However, that would mean that of the six copies I have examined, or had examined, two preserve leaves supposed to have been cancelled, which seems too high a percentage. It is more probable that these copies are a mixture of revised and unrevised sheets, the changes having been made in the press, and the sheets assembled indiscriminately. Thus, Mr. Adam's copy omits the extra sentence on p. iv, and shows the false catch-word. This I believe to be the 'earlier' state; but pp. 34, 35, and 36 of this copy show the revised readings. The New York Public Library copy, on the other hand, has the revised state of p. iv with the earlier states of pp. 34, 35, and 36. The copies in the British Museum, Bodleian, and National Library of Scotland have the revised states of all the leaves.

Issued 'stabbed', probably without wrapper. The published price

was two shillings. In my collation above I have listed several copies in public libraries. The book is not especially rare, but has by no means received the amount of bibliographical study it deserves. The Bodleian copy, which bears Isaac Reed's autograph, is wholly uncut, the leaves measuring 11 by $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches. See the general notes following no. 52.

51. *Adam's Facsimile*, 1925

The Decision of the | Court of Sessions | upon the Question of | Literary Property | Published by | James Boswell, Esq., Advocate | Edinburgh: MDCCLXXIV. | [*Rule*] | With Notes upon the Question of Literary Property, | taken from Boswell's Life of Johnson, Birkbeck Hill Edition. | And | a Letter from Dr. Samuel Johnson to William Strahan | upon the Subject, March 7, 1774. | [*Rule*] | Buffalo, N.Y., 1925

Collation:—Quarto, 52 leaves, unpaged, as follows: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), one leaf; photographic facsimile of Boswell's entire pamphlet, 42 leaves, all versos blank; *Notes*, &c. (with Fly-title), 4 leaves; Fly-title to *Letter*, one leaf; photographic facsimile of Johnson's letter to Strahan (from the Adam Collection), 4 leaves (versos blank). Bound in mottled brown boards, with cloth back. For notes on the textual vagaries of the copy used for making this facsimile, see the preceding item. It was never sold, but was made by Mr. Adam in a small edition for presentation.

52. *Second Edition*, 1774

This bears on the title-page no indication that it is a second edition, and at first glance appears to be identical with the edition which I have described as the first. A close scrutiny, however, reveals that it was printed from entirely different type. There are the following textual differences:

1. The imprint has 'Shop' instead of 'Shops', a comma after '48', and divides the date with commas. For convenience I have in what follows designated the two editions as the 'Shops' and 'Shop' from this difference in the imprint.
2. P. 1, l. 25, misprint, '*previlegium*'.
3. P. 6, l. 22, misprint, 'retain' for 'retail'.
4. P. 25, l. 28, misprint, 'transposing' for 'transprosing'.
5. P. 28, l. 1, misprint, 'poverty' for 'property'.

P. iv has the catchword 'Lord', but omits the extra sentence, 'On the 27th, the Judges delivered their Opinions'. Pp. 34, 35, and 36 show the revised readings.

This evidence is somewhat baffling. The absence of the useful sentence on p. iv naturally leads one to infer that the 'Shop' edition was earlier than the 'Shops', in most copies of which the sentence appears; the literal misprints, on the other hand, make one suspect that the 'Shop' edition is a reprint (R. B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 185). But the evidence of p. iv, as I have shown, cannot be regarded as conclusive, because of the two states of that page in the 'Shops' edition. On the other hand, it is impossible to believe that the readings of pp. 34, 35, 36 of the New York Public Library copy of the 'Shops' edition do not represent the earliest state of the text; and, if that is admitted, it follows that all the 'Shops' copies are earlier than those with 'Shop', for, though the copies with 'Shops' show puzzling differences between one another, they were all, except for certain corrections made in the press, printed from the same type. A careful consideration of the typographical evidence establishes the priority of the 'Shops' edition beyond question. It is the handsomer and taller; it is practically free from literal misprints; the type column, though not absolutely uniform, runs to approximately the same length on all the pages; and the spelling is in general consistent throughout, all of which indicates that it was set up by one compositor, working from a manuscript. The 'Shop' edition, on the other hand, shows signs of multiple composition, which is what one would expect in a page-for-page reprint. The work seems to have been divided among three compositors: the first set a, A, B, C; the second D, E, F; the third G, H, I, and possibly the unsigned signature. The first compositor was evidently a rapid worker, somewhat impatient of following his original exactly. For example, the 'Shops' edition throughout hyphenates the words 're-print' and 're-printing'. In signatures a, A, B, and C of the 'Shop' edition—*and in those signatures only*—the hyphen is invariably dropped. This compositor also shortened by upwards of a centimetre the type column of all the pages in his portion. Through pp. i–iv and 1–2 he followed the line division of his original; thereafter he occasionally altered it. With p. 9 he began to take even greater liberties. On pp. 10–12 he practically ignored the line division of the original, p. 11 ending with a different catch-word. He introduced two bad literals: '*previlegium*', p. 1, and 'retain', p. 6 (see above).

The second compositor, who set D, E, and F, was very accurate,

and followed the line division of his original with the utmost fidelity. He always hyphenates 're-print' and 're-printing', and spaces his type column to the length of that in the 'Shops' edition. This makes the type column of his portion appreciably longer than that of the first compositor. The difference may be readily observed by opening at pp. 12–13.

The practice of the third compositor was midway between those of his colleagues. He has 're-print' and 're-printing' throughout, but he shortens the type-column a few millimetres. He twice deserts the line division of his original (p. 33, l. 9, and p. 37, l. 20—if that last page be his); he is somewhat careless about marks of punctuation (p. 30, l. 19, quotation marks omitted after LONGER; p. 31, l. 2 from bottom, comma for semicolon); and he has ideas of his own about spelling: 'ideot' (idiot), p. 26, l. 19; 'independant' (independent), p. 28, l. 9 (beside 'independent', p. 31, l. 18); 'public' (publick), p. 32, l. 14 (beside 'publick', p. 35, ll. 25, 26). It was he who introduced the other two literals: 'transposing', p. 25, and 'poverty', p. 28.

All this is thoroughly in accord with the supposition that the 'Shop' was reprinted from the 'Shops' edition, but is quite incompatible with the contrary hypothesis. The copy used by the first compositor for the reprint must have had p. iv in the first state, as in Mr. Adam's copy; he noted the false catch-word and changed it, but knew nothing of the extra sentence. The copy used by the third compositor had the revised text for pp. 34, 35, 36. The first edition, to judge from the advertisements, was printed in Edinburgh; the second, in spite of the imprint, may have been printed in London.

This edition was issued in form precisely similar to the first edition, and seems to have sold for the same price. There are copies in the Harvard College Library, in the possession of D. Nichol Smith, Esq., the Rev. Dr. McKinlay, and Prof. C. B. Tinker. The leaves of the Harvard copy (trimmed) measure $9\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

General Notes on the Decision of the Court of Session on Literary Property

The story of Donaldson's determined and successful fight against the London publishers on the question of literary property may be read at length in D. Murray's *R. and A. Foulis* (pp. 41–7), A. W. Pollard's 'Some Notes on the History of Copyright in England, 1662–1774', *Library* (4th Ser., iii. 97), and W. Forbes Gray's

'Alexander Donaldson and his Fight for Cheap Books', *Juridical Review*, xxviii (June 1926). 180. Briefly, the question at issue was the interpretation of the statute of Queen Anne (8 Anne, c. 19) governing copyright. Although this specifically provided for a copyright of only fourteen years (plus another fourteen if the author were living at the end of that time), the London publishers by general agreement maintained that an author's copyright at common law existed in perpetuity, and could be transferred to his assigns. Donaldson had defied this general trade agreement by vending, both in Scotland and London, cheap editions of standard English works which were beyond the period of the statute. In 1769 the London publishers won a signal victory when the Court of King's Bench (in the case of Millar *v.* Taylor) sustained their contention as to the perpetual nature of copyright at common law. As soon as this decision was announced, the trade proceeded to get from the Court of Chancery an injunction to halt Donaldson's free-lance activities in London, and then turned their attention to Scotland, where, of course, the decision of the Court of King's Bench did not apply. They had no difficulty in finding enough evidence to base an action upon. In particular, Donaldson had reprinted and sold in Scotland Stackhouse's *History of the Bible*, a work first published in 1737. Hinton, who claimed the copyright, was nominally the plaintiff. However, the publishers soon found that they had better have let well alone, for on 20 July 1773 the Court of Session ruled, by a majority of eleven to one, that, so far as Scotland was concerned, an author had no copyright at common law, nor any property in his works beyond the period expressly stated in the statute.

It was but natural that Donaldson should have engaged as one of his counsel his old friend and client. Boswell was associated in the case with Ilay Campbell and John Maclaurin, and spoke (if we may credit his own account of the judges' decisions) remarkably well. For some time he had evidently planned to make a report of the speeches for sale. The question was arousing so much interest that two versions of the speeches of the judges of the King's Bench had appeared. Moreover, he had given himself strenuous practice in reporting by recording the speeches of the General Assembly for 1771 and 1772. (See *post*, p. 223.) In *Lond. Chron.*, 15 July and 3 Aug., he printed, after his usual custom, two communications announcing that the report of the speeches was awaited with great impatience, and that the book would be a more valuable property than the speeches in the Douglas Cause. He probably at this date intended to publish his

book immediately. But, before he had the copy in shape for the printer, Johnson arrived for the long-planned jaunt to the Hebrides, and the project had to be deferred. He tried his notes, however, on the Doctor, but with indifferent success, for Johnson was a firm friend of the London booksellers, and at all times very violent against Donaldson (*Life* v (*Hebrides*). 50–51 ; *Life*, i. 437–9). On 22 November Boswell saw Johnson off from Cranston (*Life* v (*Hebrides*). 401), and then seems to have gone to work on his manuscript. There was a strategic reason for bringing the book out as soon as possible. After winning his decision in Scotland, Donaldson had appealed to the House of Lords against the injunction which barred his activities in London. The case was opened on 4 Feb. 1774 ; hence the necessity for circulating the arguments of the learned Lords of Session to influence the Peers. On 22 Feb. the Lords reversed the decision in Millar *v.* Taylor, and rendered a decision coinciding with that of the Court of Session. This case (Donaldson *v.* Becket) is still the basis of all English and American copyright acts.

The *Decision* was advertised in *Edin. Advt.*, 18 Jan. 1774, as follows : 'In the Press and speedily will be published. The Decision of the Court of Session on the Question of Literary Property, lately determined in that Court, containing the Speeches and Arguments of the Judges. Published by James Boswell, Esq., Advocate, one of the Counsel in the Cause. Edinburgh, printed for Alexander Donaldson, and sold at his Shops, No. 48 St. Paul's Churchyard, London ; and Edinburgh.' (Note that this advertisement, which preceded the appearance of the book, has 'Shops', not 'Shop'.) I have not had access to the *Advertiser* for this period, but have this advertisement from an article by W. Forbes Gray in the *Juridical Review*, xxviii (June 1926). 180–202, 'Alexander Donaldson and his Fight for Cheap Books'. Mr. Gray says (ibid., p. 188) that it was advertised as published on 8 Feb., price 2*s*. As it had at that date been on sale a week or more in London, either he missed the first appearance of the 'for sale' advertisement, or Donaldson did not advertise it in Scotland immediately on its publication. One would guess that it was printed and published in Edinburgh about 25 Jan. On Thursday, 27 Jan., the *Public Advertiser* announced that 'Monday next will be published, Price 2*s*. The Decision . . . [as in advertisement in *Edin. Advt.*]. N.B. It is expected that the Pleadings of the Counsel in this Cause will soon appear. Printed for J. Bew, at No. 28, Paternoster Row.' On Saturday the 29th the advertisement was repeated. On Monday, 31 Jan., the advertisement reads, 'This Day at Noon will

be published, Price 2*s*.' It evidently did appear on that date, for in *St. James's Chron.*, 1 Feb., it is advertised as 'this day published'. The notice as to the expected publication of the pleadings of the counsel is there repeated. Advertisements appear in *St. James's Chron.*, 3 and 5 Feb.; *Lloyd's Even. Post*, 2, 4, 14, 16, 18, 21 Feb.; *Pub. Advt.*, 9, 10, 11, and 21 Feb. The *Whitehall Evening Post*, 17 Feb., quotes the price as half a crown, but, as the *Public Advertiser* for the 21st still advertises it for two shillings, it is probable that the price in *Whitehall Even. Post* is a mistake. (I have the advertisements from *Pub. Advt.* through the kindness of Mr. D. Nichol Smith.)

53. Letter to Lord Braxfield, 1780

A | Letter | to | Robert Macqueen | Lord Braxfield, | on his Promotion | to be one of the Judges | of the | High Court of Justiciary. | Edinburgh: | Printed in the Year M,DCC,LXXX. | Sold by all the Booksellers.

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. 39; consisting of: Half-title, '[*Row of type-ornaments*] | A | Letter | to | Lord Braxfield. | [*Row of type-ornaments*] | [Price One Shilling.]' 'Entered in Stationers Hall, according to | the Act of Queen Anne.' in center of reverse, pp. [1–2]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [3–4]; Text of *A Letter*, &c., pp. [5]–39. There are no headlines, the pages from 6 to 39 being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. There are catch-words throughout. The signatures are [A] to E (five half-sheets, each 4 leaves).

Issued 'stabbed', without wrapper. There is a copy in the Bodleian Library, and another, lacking the half-title, in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. The former measures 8 by $4\frac{13}{16}$ inches. There is also a complete manuscript copy (available for loan) in the Library of Yale University.

The *Letter to Lord Braxfield* seems to have appeared late in April or early in May 1780. Boswell was then in Edinburgh, this being one of the few years he omitted his Easter pilgrimage to London. I have found no advertisements, but *Scots Mag.*, April 1780 (xlii. 205), gives extracts from it as a new publication. It was entered in the Stationers' Register on 5 May 1780. This entry in the Register is peculiar and significant; instead of the usual heading giving the name of the proprietor, we find 'Adam Neil [possibly 'Neill'] of the whole',

under which the Registrar (Boswell's friend Wilkie) has carefully written 'Printer'. There is in this an apparent desire to conceal the name of the true proprietor, who was clearly in this case the author.

The status of this pamphlet in the Boswell canon is peculiar, and presents a somewhat trying problem to the bibliographer. Since the work has never been proved to be Boswell's, he must say something about it; but, as no one at present opposes the attribution, he will probably seem to say too much. A sceptic could, however, easily show that any mere tacit acceptance of the tradition of Boswellian authorship is much too facile, for there is, properly speaking, no such tradition. The work appeared in 1780, but, as far as I know, there is no reference to it in print as Boswell's until seventy-six years after its publication, i. e. in Lord Cockburn's *Memorials of His Time* (written 1821–30, posthumously published 1856). Lord Cockburn (p. 341) refers to it as 'Bozzy's *Letter to Lord Braxfield*', and, although he admits that he does 'not know the history' of the pamphlet, he certainly had no doubt that Boswell wrote it. In *Circuit Journeys* (published 1888) he repeats *verbatim*, under date of 20 Sept. 1847 (p. 322), the same paragraph he had written earlier in *Memorials of His Time*. The copies of the *Letter* in the Bodleian and the Library of the University of Edinburgh are catalogued as Boswell's, but almost certainly on the authority of Lord Cockburn, not because of any independent tradition. In his bibliography in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (the only accurate and inclusive bibliography of Boswell hitherto published), x. 534, Mr. D. Nichol Smith classed it as 'wrongly attributed to Boswell'. He now assures me that he is satisfied that Boswell did write it. The Rev. Dr. McKinlay includes it as genuine in his privately printed bibliography of Boswell, but adduces no evidence other than Lord Cockburn's statement.

I think it must be granted that, failing actual contemporary testimony, Lord Cockburn's is the best we could possibly have. His whole life was passed in that Edinburgh legal society of which Boswell had been a member; if it had an unwritten tradition as to the authorship of the pamphlet, he would have known it. He was long a Judge in the Court of Justiciary, and he had a special interest in judicial reform, the subject-matter of this pamphlet.

Boswell, of course, had always known Macqueen intimately (his thesis bears Macqueen's *imprimatur*), and had often been associated with him in his legal practice. When, as Lord Braxfield, Macqueen became a Lord of Justiciary on 26 Feb. 1780, he succeeded Boswell's father, Lord Auchinleck. The *Letter* followed immediately upon

A

LETTER

TO

ROBERT MACQUEEN

LORD BRAXFIELD,

ON HIS PROMOTION

TO BE ONE OF THE JUDGES

OF THE

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICIARY.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED IN THE YEAR M,DCC,LXXX

Sold by all the BOOKSELLERS.

this appointment, and consists of very outspoken advice to Braxfield as to the conduct to be expected of him in that high position. There is, therefore, reason *a priori* for suspecting Boswell of having written it. Lord Auchinleck had long been a criminal judge, and had built up, both in the High Court and on the circuits, a reputation for probity and dignity perhaps equalled by none of his colleagues. He must have looked with considerable uneasiness on the succession to his chair of Braxfield, who, though a man of brilliant faculties, had a reputation for brutality and uncouthness, which, while it has unquestionably been exaggerated by Cockburn and Stevenson, must in part have been deserved. Boswell would often have heard his father's views of his successor, and he would certainly have had ideas of his own on the subject. The role of giving personal and public advice in print was not new to him. In an anonymous open letter (*Reflections on the Bankruptcies*, 1772) he had already published one work of the same general nature, and in the two acknowledged *Letters to the People of Scotland* (1783, 1785) he continued to give pointed advice to his superiors.

A close reading of the pamphlet, while it reveals nothing in the style that can unhesitatingly be set down as Boswell's and no one's else (which, by the way, is remarkable), does show that every one of the ideas advanced was one held by Boswell, and that some of them can properly be called peculiar to him. The author clearly knew Braxfield intimately. He must have been a person who had seen many civil and criminal trials, and had been many times on circuit. (For Boswell's familiarity with the towns and the people of the circuits, see *Hebrides*, *passim*.) He was familiar with the forms of judicial procedure in Scotland well before his own day, as we should expect Lord Auchinleck's son to have been. He was very conservative in his attitude towards established forms, and wished at all costs to preserve the solemnity, pomp, and dignity of the courts. He was very outspoken in his condemnation of the practice (then becoming respectable) by which the judges on circuit pocketed as much as they could of their allowance for entertainment. (Lord Auchinleck, we know, was very strict on this point, and always spent every penny of his allowance on his guests. Indeed, though Lord Auchinleck is not once mentioned, it is pretty clear that it is his example which is throughout being recommended to Braxfield. See John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen*, i. 164–7.) He was an open and eloquent advocate of piety and the Christian religion. He believed the English judicial system preferable to the Scottish, and admitted that

English manners were more agreeable to him than those of his own country. The other traits might perhaps be found separately or even combined in many of Boswell's contemporaries. But this last almost singles him out. Boswell, we know from abundant evidence, hoped to remodel the Scottish system on the English; especially to introduce two features, the lack of which are bewailed in the *Letter to Lord Braxfield*, viz. juries in civil cases and grand juries for criminal indictments. (Compare the *Letter to Lord Braxfield*, pp. 11–13, with the *Letter to the People of Scotland*, 1785, pp. 13–16.) Quite apart, therefore, from Lord Cockburn's testimony, the ascription of the pamphlet to Boswell is not only reasonable but almost inevitable.[1]

54. Letter to the People of Scotland. 1783

A | Letter | to the | People of Scotland, | On the Present State of the Nation. | By | James Boswell, Esq. | [*Long rule*] | Calm is my soul, nor apt to rise in arms, | Except when fast approaching danger warms: | But when contending Chiefs blockade the Throne, | Contracting regal power to stretch their own; | When I behold a factious band agree | To call it freedom when themselves are free; | The wealth of climes where savage nations roam, | Pillag'd from slaves, to purchase slaves at home; | Fear, pity, justice, indignation start, | Tear off reserve, and bare my swelling heart; | Till half a patriot, half a coward grown, | I fly from petty tyrants to the Throne. | Goldsmith. | [*Long rule*] | Edinburgh: | Printed and Sold by all the Booksellers. | [*Short double rules*] | M,DCC,LXXXIII.

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. 43; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; Text of the *Letter*, pp. [3]–43. There are no headlines, the pages from 4 to 43 being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between round brackets. There are catch-words throughout. The signatures are [A] to E (five half-sheets, each 4 leaves), and F (2 leaves).

Issued 'stabbed', (probably) without wrapper. I have found no advertisements, but the published price was probably the same as that of the second edition, viz. one shilling. The pamphlet seems to be rare; at least, it appears in the catalogues of few large libraries.

[1] After this article was set up, Col. Isham found the following passage in Boswell's journal, now in his possession: 'Monday 8 May. My letter to Lord Braxfield was published. I kept out of the way.'

There are two copies in the British Museum, one of which contains Boswell's autograph, 'To John Wilkes, Esq. from the Authour', one in the Harvard College Library, and one in the New York Public Library. The leaves of the last (uncut) measure $8\frac{7}{8}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. See the general notes following no. 55.

55. *Second Edition*, 1784

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. 40, consisting of: Title-page, as in first edition, but with the imprint 'Edinburgh, Printed: | London Re-printed, for Charles Dilly, in | the Poultry. | M,DCC,LXXXIV.' (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; Text of the *Letter*, pp. [3]–40. This edition follows the first in make-up, but the page-numbers are enclosed in square brackets instead of round. The signatures are [A] to E (five half-sheets, each 4 leaves). There is no intentional textual difference between the two editions.

Issued 'stabbed', (probably) without wrapper. The published price was one shilling. There are copies in the British Museum and the Library of Yale University. The leaves of the former (which have been trimmed) measure $8\frac{1}{4}$ by 5 inches.

General Notes on Letter to the People of Scotland (1783, 1784)

This, the first of Boswell's 'characteristical pamphlets' to bear his name on the title-page, was published in the last weeks of December 1783. Fox's East-India Bill was introduced on 18 Nov., and defeated in the House of Lords on 17 Dec., when Fox and his colleagues of the Coalition Ministry were turned out of office. The news could not have reached Edinburgh before the 19th. Between that date and the end of the month Boswell must have written and printed the pamphlet, though the first reference by him to it now preserved is dated 7 Jan. 1784 (*Letters*, ii. 318). The second, or London, edition is reviewed in both the *Critical* and *Monthly Reviews* for January 1784, and so must have been out before the end of that month. Boswell also did all he decently could to induce Percy to have the pamphlet reprinted in Ireland, but the Bishop made no movement in the matter (*Letters*, ii. 322–3).

This *Letter* marks a new and important stage in Boswell's career. It had for years been his ambition to enter politics, but he had been prevented therefrom by the stern negative of his father, on whom he was entirely dependent. In August 1782 Lord Auchinleck died and Boswell himself became Laird, a country gentleman of position in society, for the first time in his forty-two years able to avow openly his

A

LETTER

TO THE

PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND,

On the Preſent State of the Nation.

BY

JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

Calm is my ſoul, nor apt to riſe in arms,
Except when faſt approaching danger warms:
But when contending Chiefs blockade the Throne,
Contracting regal power to ſtretch their own;
When I behold a factious band agree
To call it freedom when themſelves are free;
The wealth of climes where ſavage nations roam,
Pillag'd from ſlaves, to purchaſe ſlaves at home;
Fear, pity, juſtice, indignation ſtart,
Tear off reſerve, and bare my ſwelling heart;
Till half a patriot, half a coward grown,
I fly from petty tyrants to the Throne.

GOLDSMITH.

EDINBURGH:
Printed and Sold by all the BOOKSELLERS.

M,DCC,LXXXIII.

hopes of a career outside Scotland. His Tory soul was especially excited by Fox's 'flagitious bill to rob a chartered company and overwhelm his Majesty', but the real reason for his penning the pamphlet was undoubtedly that he saw a general election imminent and proposed to stand for Ayrshire. He urges the people of Scotland to address the king, expressing their satisfaction at the defeat of the Bill and 'assuring his Majesty of their firm attachment to his Royal Person and Government'. In securing such addresses the *Letter* was eminently successful. The *London Gazette* prints the text of thirty-five such documents from Scottish burghs and counties, including (3 April 1784) that for the County of Ayr, which Boswell says he drafted himself and carried by a large majority (*Life*, iv. 265). Towards the end of March the general election took place, but Boswell was unable to obtain the seat he coveted.

The first *Letter to the People of Scotland* is, therefore, a hastily written and ephemeral piece of work, like the *British Essays*, intended to serve an immediate and practical end. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about it is that, in spite of the fact that its topical nature has now made it hopelessly antiquated, it can still be read with pleasure because of its familiar references to Goldsmith, General Oglethorpe, Dr. Johnson, Fox, Jack Lee ('the Attorney General'), Burke, and others.

56. Letter to the People of Scotland. 1785

A | Letter | to the | People of Scotland, | on the | Alarming Attempt | to infringe the | Articles of the Union, | and introduce a | Most Pernicious Innovation, | by diminishing the number of the | Lords of Session. | [*Rule*] | By James Boswell, Esq. | [*Rule*] | Remember, O my friends! the laws, the rights, | The generous plan of power delivered down, | From age to age, by your renowned forefathers! | O! let it never perish in your hands, | But piously transmit it to your children! | Addison. | [*Long double rules*] | London: | Printed for Charles Dilly, in the Poultry. | MDCCLXXXV.

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. iv + 108; consisting of: Half-title, 'A | Letter | to | The People of Scotland. | [*Rule*] | [Price Half-a-Crown.]', with 'Entered in the Hall-Book | of the | Company of Stationers.', in center of the reverse, pp. [i–ii]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]; Text of the

A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND, ON THE ALARMING ATTEMPT TO INFRINGE THE ARTICLES OF THE UNION, AND INTRODUCE A MOST PERNICIOUS INNOVATION, BY DIMINISHING THE NUMBER OF THE LORDS OF SESSION.

By *JAMES BOSWELL*, Esq.

Remember, O my friends! the laws, the rights,
The generous plan of power delivered down,
From age to age, by your renowned forefathers!
O! let it never perish in your hands,
But piously transmit it to your children!

ADDISON.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR CHARLES DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.
MDCCLXXXV.

Letter, pp. [1]–105; *Postscript*, pp. 106–7; Advertisement of *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, p. [108]. There are no headlines, the pages from 2 to 107 being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. There are catch-words throughout. The signatures are [A] (one quarter-sheet, 2 leaves), B to O (thirteen half-sheets, each 4 leaves), and P (one quarter-sheet, 2 leaves). The pamphlet bears the author's name, and the date, 'London, May, 1785', at the foot of p. 105. The *Postscript* was set in a smaller type than the body of the Text, probably to leave room in the last signature for the Half-title and Title-page.

Issued 'stabbed', with blue-grey wrapper. Colonel Isham has an uncut copy in this state. This pamphlet is much better represented in public libraries than the preceding. There are copies in the Bodleian Library, the National Library of Scotland, the Library of the University of Edinburgh, the Library of Congress, the Library of Yale University, and no fewer than four in the British Museum. One of these is Boswell's presentation copy to Wilkes (press-mark 1103. g. 86) with the following inscription on the reverse of the half-title:

'Comes jucundus in via pro vehiculo est. | To John Wilkes Esq: as | pleasant a companion as | ever lived | From the Authour. | —Will my Wilkes retreat, | And see, once seen before, that ancient Seat! &c.'

The leaves of this copy, which are entirely uncut, measure 9 by $5\frac{9}{16}$ inches. Wilkes has underlined the passage on p. 55 in which Boswell has referred to his love for his wife, and also the anecdote on pp. 98–9, telling how a Scottish jury in the days of hereditary jurisdictions had a man hanged so that the young Laird might see an execution. He has carefully noted these passages on a leaf bound in at the end, and has similarly noted on the title-page the paragraph on p. 70 referring to himself. In the Adam Collection is another presentation copy of great interest, that which Boswell sent to Henry Dundas, whom he had so valiantly attacked in the *Letter*. The inscription reads, 'The Right Honourable | Henry Dundas | from the Authour. | Plato, Amicus Socrates, sed magis Amica Veritas.'

The second *Letter to the People of Scotland* was in the press in the middle of May 1785, for on p. 82 Boswell notes that the letter was printed 'thus far (14 May 1785)'. At this point ten sheets had gone through the press, and Boswell was apparently only one sheet ahead

of the printer. The hasty nature of the composition is also indicated by the postscript, which includes matter that had turned up after the pertinent passage in the *Letter* had been printed. The pamphlet was advertised in *Lond. Chron.* 2 June 1785 (lvii. 524), in a paragraph certainly of Boswell's writing:

'This day was published, Price 2*s.* 6*d.* *A Letter to the People of Scotland* . . . Topics—The security of the Union destroyed; the Presbyterian kirk in danger; an equal land-tax over England as well as Scotland; Mr. Dundas's prodigious power; pusillanimity of the Scots; glorious state of Ireland; view of the Court of Session; fly for refuge to English Members, and to the Throne; blue and buff exploded for a graver colour; sketches of the Lord High Chancellor Thurlow, Earl of Lonsdale, Earl of Upper Ossory, Lord Palmerston, Lord Advocate of Scotland, Hon. Colonel James Stuart, Sir Matthew White Ridley, Mr. Burke, Mr. Lee, Mr. Wilkes, Captain M'bride, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, a Great Personage. Printed for Charles Dilly, in the Poultry. Sold also by Faulder, New Bond-street; by Debrett, and Stockdale, Piccadilly; and by Coghlan, Duke-street, Grosvenor-square.'

The *Letter* apparently never had a second edition, but the number of copies now extant shows that the impression must have been large.

This pamphlet was called forth by a Bill introduced into the House of Commons on 25 April 1785 by Boswell's old colleague in the Douglas Cause, Ilay Campbell, now in the good graces of Henry Dundas and Lord Advocate of Scotland. The Bill proposed to reduce the number of the Lords of Session from fifteen to ten. It was really the work of Dundas, whose power over Scotland was, even at this period, despotic. In his *Letter to Lord Braxfield* Boswell had shown himself strongly opposed to innovations in the High Court of Justiciary. He was doubly aroused by this Bill, for he believed it to be a direct infringement of the Articles of Union. On 17 May 1785 he published in the *Edin. Advt.* (xliii. 309) a somewhat absurd letter in which he represented himself as the defender of Scottish liberties: 'Having called to you with so much success last year to oppose Mr. *Fox's East India Bill*, I resolved to call you again, on this momentous occasion. My friends and countrymen, be not afraid. I am *upon the spot.* I am *upon the watch.* The bill *shall not pass* without a spirited appeal to the justice and honour of the Commons of Great Britain. Collect your minds. Be calm; but be firm. You shall hear from me at large a few days hence.'

As a matter of fact the Bill was killed, and largely through Boswell's efforts. On 24 June he personally presented to the king an address from his tenants at Auchinleck against it. In the following autumn he organized and addressed several meetings of the counties of Scotland. At the meeting of the County of Ayr he succeeded in getting a resolution passed condemning the measure as 'most improper and disrespectful'. (His motion first stood, 'unwise, rash, and insolent'. *Scots Mag.*, xlvii. 517.) Ilay Campbell wrote a very able pamphlet in support of the Bill, but Dundas, seeing the country so thoroughly roused against it, had it quietly dropped.

The second *Letter to the People of Scotland* has received more ridicule from recent writers than any other of Boswell's publications. Mr. Fitzgerald, indeed, suggests that Boswell was drunk when he wrote it (*Life of Boswell*, ii. 18–19). The general assumption now seems to be that it was received with contempt. The fact is that it was very well received. The *English Review* (v. 441–4) remarks that 'this is, in our opinion, the best performance which has proceeded from the pen of Mr. Boswell'. The *Monthly* and *Critical* were almost equally laudatory, both especially remarking on the peculiar vein of humour which runs through the performance. Boswell himself later felt that it was somewhat extravagant in tone, and published a letter in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* saying so (xliv. 413). His defence was that at the time he wrote there was so much danger of the Bill's passing that he found it necessary to use every weapon that he thought might be effective. In short, the *Letter* is a conventional political tract of the eighteenth century, differing from others of its class only in its exuberance of tone and the wealth of personal allusion, the scope of which is well indicated by the advertisement from the *London Chronicle* quoted above.

57. Tour to the Hebrides. 1785

The | Journal | of a Tour to the | Hebrides, | with | Samuel Johnson, LL.D. | By James Boswell, Esq. | Containing | Some Poetical Pieces by Dr. Johnson, relative to the | Tour, and never before published; | a Series of his Conversation, Literary Anecdotes, and | Opinions of Men and Books: | with an Authentick Account of | the Distresses and Escape of the Grandson of | King James II. in the Year 1746. | [*Long rule*] | O! while along the stream of time, thy name | Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame, | Say, shall my little

bark attendant sail, | Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale? Pope. | [*Long rule*] | [*Woodcut device of Boswell's crest:* 'A falcon, proper, hooded and belled. Motto, Vraye Foy.' *Underneath is the monogram* 'J. B.'] | [*Long double rules*] | London: | Printed by Henry Baldwin, for Charles Dilly, | in the Poultry. | MDCCLXXXV.

Collation:—Octavo, pp. viii + 524 + 1 l.; consisting of: Half-title, 'The | Journal | of a Tour to the | Hebrides.' (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]; Dedication, *To Edmond Malone, Esq.*, pp. v–vii; Motto from Baker's *Chronicle*, p. [viii]; Text of *The Journal*, &c., pp. [1]–524; *Errata* and Advertisement of the *Life of Johnson* (with blank reverse), one unpaged leaf at the end. This leaf is the seventh of signature L l, the eighth of which may survive in some copies as a blank, though I have examined many copies without finding a genuine Ll_8. It is not impossible that the cancel for M 4 (see below) was printed on the missing leaf. There are no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. The signatures are B–K k (thirty-two sheets, each 8 leaves), followed by L l (7 leaves, see above), and preceded by [A] (one half-sheet of 4 leaves), carrying the Half-title, Title-page, Dedication, and other introductory matter. There are catch-words throughout, except on p. 518. At least three leaves exist in two states: (1) I_5 (pp. 121–2) has in the first state, ll. 3–4 from the bottom of p. 121, 'in- | induced'; in some copies (e. g. that in the Bodleian Library) the misprint has been corrected in the press; (2) Q_7 (pp. 237–8), ll. 6–7 of p. 237, first state, 'the former and the latter'; most copies apparently have Malone's correction, 'Kings and subjects'; (3) U_6 (pp. 299–300), l. 13, p. 299, in the first state does not contain 'nor Mrs. Thrale' in Johnson's statement that neither he nor Beauclerk could get through Mrs. Montague's *Essay on Shakespeare*. In a note in the third edition, Boswell says that he originally had the passage set up with Mrs. Thrale's name, but struck out the reference to her in the proof; that, after two or three hundred sheets had been run off, he changed his mind and restored her name to the text. (This note was originally published as a letter to the newspapers. Dr. Hill (*Life* v (*Hebrides*). 246 n.) says it appears in *The Gazetteer* for 17 April 1786. It was reprinted in *Gent. Mag.*, April 1786, lvi. 285.) Mr. R. W. Chapman (see below) says he has never seen a copy without Mrs. Thrale's name,

nor have I. I also suspect that T_4 (pp. 279–80) may exist in two states. The *Errata* call for us to read at l. 18, p. 280, *sufficiently* for *sufficently*. There is no such word at that reference, but in l. 17 occurs *sufficient* and in l. 30 *sufficiently*, correctly spelled in all the copies I have seen. Mr. Chapman at my request has also examined several copies without finding any misprint. This may well have been, however, like (1) above, a misprint corrected in the press after some sheets had been run off.

In most copies (including all I have examined) M_4 (pp. 167–8), containing part of the record of the stay with Sir Alexander Macdonald, is a cancel; according to Mr. Chapman, some copies show the leaf printed from the same types as the cancel leaf, but with no external evidence of cancellation. No copy with the leaf in its original state has been reported, but it is certain that the cancel was made to remove certain observations on Sir Alexander even more indiscreet than those which were finally retained. See *post*, p. 117. E_3 and E_4 (pp. 53–6) are also cancels in the copies known to me. In most copies the stubs of the two cancelled leaves may be seen, but in all the cancel is apparent, for E_3 and E_4 are 'conjugate' leaves, which could not be the case in a normally folded sheet. An ingenious member of the staff of the Yale Library suggests that the cancel was made in order to insert the long note on pp. 53–4 identifying Johnson's quotation from Samuel Butler's *Remains*. Boswell says in the note that he had the information from 'Mr. [Isaac] Reed of Staple Inn'. The double cancel was probably resorted to in order to avoid cutting and pasting.

The Tour to the Hebrides has been honoured with an unusually excellent critical edition. In his *Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1924), Mr. R. W. Chapman has furnished an elaborate critical apparatus showing minutely the changes in the text through the first three editions, together with a bibliography of those editions. I have most gratefully made use of the information he has collected, and have been able to supplement it in only a few minor details.

Issued in boards or full-bound in calf. The price in boards was 6*s*. I have found no advertisement giving the price 'bound'. On the other hand, I have never seen a copy in boards. The leaves of the copy in the George III collection of the British Museum measure $8\frac{5}{16}$ by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches. The copy in the Yale Library is not so tall, but measures a full 5 inches in the other dimension. The book is not rare,

THE

JOURNAL

OF A TOUR TO THE

HEBRIDES,

WITH

SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

By *JAMES BOSWELL*, Esq.

CONTAINING

Some Poetical Pieces by Dr. Johnson, relative to the Tour, and never before publiſhed;

A Series of his Converſation, Literary Anecdotes, and Opinions of Men and Books:

WITH AN AUTHENTICK ACCOUNT OF

The Diſtreſſes and Eſcape of the Grandson of King James II. in the Year 1746.

O! while along the ſtream of time, thy name
Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame,
Say, ſhall my little bark attendant ſail,
Purſue the triumph, and partake the gale? Pope.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HENRY BALDWIN, FOR CHARLES DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.
MDCCLXXXV.

and may be found in most large libraries. See the general notes following no. 61.

58. *First Irish Edition.* 1785

The title-page follows exactly that of the first edition, except that the quotation from Pope is followed by a double rule, Boswell's crest is omitted, and the imprint reads: 'Dublin: | Printed for Messrs. White, Byrne, and Cash. | MDCCLXXXV.'

Collation:—Identical with the first edition, except that the *Errata* are omitted, as having been incorporated in the text, and the Advertisement of the *Life of Johnson* is printed in larger type so as to occupy the whole of p. [525]. The blank leaf, Ll 8, appears at the end. The book is practically a line for line reprint of the first edition, which it resembles very closely in appearance. Unlike many of the Irish piracies, it is printed on a fine quality of paper, and in every respect is worthy of comparison with the genuine edition. It was set up from a copy of the first edition which had all the cancels as above, and the two-state leaves in the 'second' or revised condition. Mr. Chapman does not list this edition in his bibliography.

Issued in form strikingly similar to the first edition. Boswell, writing to Joseph Cooper Walker on 20 Dec. 1785, had not yet heard of it (*Letters*, ii. 330). The copies I have seen are full bound in calf. The book seems to be rare; the copy in the Yale University Library being the only one I have met with in the large public libraries. There is no copy in the British Museum. The leaves of the Yale copy (which have been trimmed) measure $7\frac{7}{8}$ by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

59. *Second Edition.* 1785

Collation:—Octavo, pp. xxii + 534 + 1 l.; consisting of: Half-title, as in first edition (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Title-page, as in first edition, but inserts 'The Second Edition, Revised and Corrected' (with no rules) above the quotation from Pope; the device of the first edition is replaced by an elegant copper-plate, without the monogram, and with shaded rules above and below the crest; the imprint is divided after 'Baldwin' (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]; *Dedication to Edmond Malone, Esq.*, pp. [v]–vii; *Advertisement* to the second edition (dated 'London, 20th Dec. 1785'), p. [viii]; Table of *Contents*, pp. [ix]–xx; p. [xxi] is blank; motto from Baker's *Chronicle*, p. [xxii]; Text of *The Journal of a Tour*, &c.,

pp. [1]–528; Appendix, pp. [529]–534; Advertisement of the *Life of Johnson*, considerably longer than that in the first edition (with blank reverse), on an unpaged leaf at the end. There are headlines throughout, each verso being headed *Journal of a Tour*, and each recto, *To the Hebrides*. The pages are numbered in arabic numerals. P. 475 in some copies has dropped the 5. The signatures are B to L l (thirty-three sheets, each 8 leaves), followed by M m (one half-sheet, 4 leaves), and preceded by [a] (one half-sheet, 4 leaves) and b (7 leaves, see below), carrying the Half-title, Title-page, and preliminary material. F_5 (pp. 73–4) is a cancel. In the note on p. 73, which gives Foote's description of Monboddo as 'an Elzevir edition of Johnson', Boswell first adopted Malone's suggestion and added 'or pocket' after 'Elzevir'. He afterwards changed his mind, and restored the original text by cancelling the leaf. The cancel leaf was printed on the missing eighth leaf of signature b. (See Chapman, pp. 466, 481.)

'The principal changes made in the second edition, besides the correction of some printer's errors, are the removal of a few errors of fact, and a large number of slight verbal changes in the interest of grammar and elegance; the addition of the Contents, two Appendixes, and a number of notes explanatory or controversial; and the substitution (pp. 165–6) of a softened account of the stay with Sir Alexander Macdonald for the too frank disclosures of the original narrative' (Chapman, p. xvii).

One of the most remarkable collections of documents among the papers which Col. Isham secured from Malahide Castle concerns this substitution. On 26 Nov. 1785 Sir Alexander (who had become Lord Macdonald) sent to Boswell a long and angry letter, in which he protested, with much pedantic abuse, at the way he had been treated. On 28 Nov. Boswell wrote to William Bosville, asking him to wait upon Lord Macdonald and inform him that he had suppressed in the original manuscript several observations on that gentleman both by Johnson and himself, as he thought they might give offence, which he was so anxious to avoid that he had even cancelled a leaf [M_4], 'and had it reprinted free from a sentence or two which were at first inserted'. This completely confirms what has long been presumed to have been the cause of the cancel, but it puts us no nearer the original text. If, however, the passage expunged consisted of only a sentence or two, it probably occurred in the last paragraph on p. 168, which in its present form sounds like a softening of original phraseology: 'We attempted in vain to

communicate to him a portion of our enthusiasm. He bore with so polite a good-nature our warm, and what some might call Gothick, expostulations, on this subject, that I should not forgive myself, were I to record all that Dr. Johnson's ardour led him to say.—This day was little better than a blank.' Boswell says that after making this cancel he had flattered himself 'that nothing remained that could possibly hurt his Lordship'. However, finding on revision that three exceptionable passages had escaped him, he had, some weeks before and entirely of his own accord, expunged them from the second edition, then in the press. He was furthermore very sorry that they had ever appeared. In a postscript he added that sixteen sheets (256 pages) of the second edition were already printed off, and might be seen at Baldwin's. The sheet in question had been printed for some time. In consequence of this explanation and apology he asked that he be assured by Lord Macdonald that no use, public or private, would be made of the derogatory remarks in his letter. As Macdonald made no satisfactory answer, Boswell felt it necessary to appoint John Courtenay his second, and to entrust to him a formal challenge, which he was to present to Lord Macdonald if no means of compromise could be found. Macdonald, however, hit upon an expedient of revenge to which Boswell could hardly object, and which had the effect of making him look rather silly. Having received back his original letter, he 'cancelled' the most 'exceptionable' passages in it, either by drawing his pen through them, or by softening the phraseology. In either case, the original reading is entirely legible. This he returned with an assurance that he intended to let the matter drop. Boswell carefully endorsed and numbered all the various documents (the last of which is dated '10 A.M. Dec. 13, 1785'), and deposited them with Malone, who also endorsed the outer wrapper. These documents explain Boswell's anger at the insinuations of Peter Pindar, and completely validate his indignant denial (in a note at the end of his third edition) that he had suppressed anything under compulsion. (See *Life* v (*Hebrides*). 148 n., 415 n. 4).

With the publication of *Hebrides* began the close association with Malone which proved of inestimable value to Boswell later, when he was writing the *Life*. Malone read the manuscript before it was printed (*Life* v (*Hebrides*). i), and may possibly have helped in polishing the text, though there is no record of such assistance. The greater part of the verbal changes in the second edition, however, can be shown to have come from him. Mr. Adam has in his collec-

tion Malone's own copy of the first edition with many marginal corrections, nearly all of which are embodied in the second, together with references to new paragraphs and notes which apparently once accompanied the book on separate sheets, but are now lost. (See Chapman's notes, where these corrections are recorded.) In Sotheby's Auchinleck Sale, 1893, was sold a book described as 'Boswell's own copy of the *Tour to the Hebrides* with MS. Corrections on nearly every page'. I have always suspected that this was an erroneous description of the Malone copy now owned by Mr. Adam, though it is by no means unlikely that Malone annotated his copy only for Boswell's use, and that from it Boswell prepared the copy actually used by the printers. At any rate, Boswell departed for Scotland while the first part of the second edition was printing, and left Malone in complete charge, with power to add or alter at his discretion. See Chapman, pp. xvii–xviii; *Life*, iii. 323 n., and *post*, p. 122.

Issued in boards at 6*s*., and also 'bound', though I have found no advertisement giving the price in the latter binding. All copies I have seen are full-bound in calf. The second edition up to p. 426 follows the first practically page for page; from that point on, the two diverge. The second edition is somewhat taller than the first (the leaves of the copy in the Yale Library, which have been trimmed, measuring $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{16}$ inches), but the added headline makes the number of lines to the page the same. The second edition of *Hebrides* cannot be said to be a rare book, though probably less frequently met with than the first. See the general notes following no. 61.

60. *Third Edition*. 1786

Collation:—Octavo, 2 p. l. + pp. xvi + 442 + 1 l., consisting of: Half-title, as in first edition (with blank reverse), and Title-page, as in second edition, but divided 'Tour, | and never', 'Opinions | of Men' and 'King | James II'; substitutes 'Third Edition' for 'Second Edition', and is dated MDCCLXXXVI (with blank reverse), two preliminary unpaged leaves; *Dedication to Edmond Malone, Esq.*, pp. [i]–iii; *Advertisement to the Third Edition*, pp. [iv]–v; Table of *Contents*, pp. [vi]–xv; Motto from Baker's *Chronicle*, p. [xvi]; Text of *The Journal*, &c., pp. [1]–436; *Appendixes*, pp. [437]–442; Advertisement of the *Life of Johnson* (with blank reverse), one unpaged leaf at the end. The headlines and method of pagination are as in the second edition, which the

book closely resembles in appearance. The signatures are B to E e (twenty-seven sheets, each 8 leaves), plus F f (one half-sheet, 4 leaves) and G g (one quarter-sheet, 2 leaves), the whole preceded by [a] (one quarter-sheet, 2 leaves) and b (one sheet, 8 leaves), carrying the Half-title, Title-page, and preliminary matter. a and Gg are shown by the watermarks to be the missing leaves of Ff. b_3 is a cancel. The cancel was made to correct the last sentence of the *Advertisement* (p. v), which originally ran: 'and no other memorial of this great and good man shall remain, but the following Journal, and his own admirable works, which have, &c.' The corrected leaf reads: 'no other memorial of this great and good man shall remain, but the following Journal, the other anedotes [*sic*] and letters preserved by his friends, and those incomparable works, &c.' The words added were almost certainly intended as a reference to the projected *Life of Johnson*, though it must be admitted that the reference is by no means explicit. The Rev. Dr. McKinlay possesses a copy of this edition which preserves both states of the leaf. C_1 (pp. 17–18) is in some copies a cancel. Mr. Powell informs me that in his copy the cancel is clearly shown, both by stub and watermark. The leaf is, however, identical with that of other copies which show no sign of cancel, and was printed from the same type. This is clearly an instance of correction made while the sheet was printing, so that it was necessary to cancel only part of the impression. The correction was presumably of some typographical error, as the corrected text is identical with that of the first and second editions. The signature mark Z_4 is misprinted Y_4, and there are errors in the pagination. P. 47 is numbered 45, and pp. 85, 172, 219, and 280 in some copies have lost the 5, 2, 9, and 2 respectively. P. 188 is numbered in the inner margin. It should be especially noted that the first issue of this edition does *not* contain a map.

'The changes made in the third edition . . . were much slighter [than in the second]. They were chiefly in the notes.' (Chapman, p. xvii.)

Issued in boards for 6*s*. The leaves of the copy in the Yale Library, which is in the original blue-grey boards, rebacked, but wholly uncut, measure 9 by $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches. The third edition of *The Tour to the Hebrides* is not a rare book. Copies without the map are frequently, though erroneously, described as imperfect. See the general notes following no. 61.

61. *Second Issue of the Third Edition.* 1791

This is exactly the same as the preceding item, but includes a large folding *Map* ($18\frac{7}{16}$ by 15 inches) of the *Tour through Scotland and the Hebrides, by Samuel Johnson, LL.D. and James Boswell, Esq. in 1773*. This is dated '10th April 1791', and marked 'to Face Page 1 Sigt. B. Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides'. (See below.)

General Notes on the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides.

As the *Tour to the Hebrides* was not published until 1785, it is usually associated with Boswell's last work, the *Life of Johnson*, published when he was fifty years old. As a matter of fact, the *Tour* was almost entirely the work of his early thirties (1773), and was composed within five years of the publication of *Corsica*. This is highly significant, since it indicates that Boswell arrived at his complete literary stature sooner than has been commonly supposed. Though the *Life* is a much vaster and richer piece of work, no one will maintain that it displays Boswell's unique gift for biography better than the *Tour*. Indeed, most lovers of Boswell will agree that the *Tour* as a whole is more consistently good than the *Life*; that is, that nowhere in the *Life* could one find so many consecutive first-class pages as those that compose this book.

There can be no doubt that the *Tour* as published was almost literally the actual journal which Boswell kept day by day on the journey. In a note to his first edition (p. 78) he defines the liberties he has allowed himself to take with his original text as not exceeding the expansion of abbreviations and the insertion of words necessary to complete the sense. We have Johnson's own authority that the original was finished enough to print (*Life* v (*Hebrides*). 227). Besides his almost daily reading of the Journal while on the tour, Johnson was sent in London as early as 1775 a manuscript covering practically all the book as later printed (19 Aug. to 26 Oct.). Mrs. Thrale also read this manuscript (*Life* v (*Hebrides*). 58, 360; *Life* ii. 383 n.). Apparently, when Johnson's death made it possible for Boswell to publish, he had only to add an introduction and conclusion to his manuscript and give it to the printer.

Writing to Percy from Auchinleck on 20 March 1785, Boswell says he is 'to publish the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*' (*Letters*, ii. 326). He left, apparently the next day, for London, and probably put the work immediately to the press. In the advertisement printed

at the end of the *Letter to the People of Scotland* (end of May 1785), it is said that the book is 'in the press, and speedily will be published'. One of Boswell's miscellaneous cash accounts in the Isham collection contains the following entry: 'Sept. 7, 1785. Cutting crest for my tour 5*s*.' On 13 Sept. the book is advertised in the *London Chronicle* as to be published 'in a few days', the same advertisement reappearing a week later (lviii. 255, 279). On 27 Sept. (p. 300) it is set down to be published on 'Saturday next', i. e. 1 Oct. The absence of advertisements thereafter indicates a rapid sale. I have found no mention of the number of copies printed; Boswell in the advertisement to the third edition speaks only of 'two large impressions'. According to Mr. Fitzgerald (in his edition of the *Life*, iii. 203 n.) Baretti recorded in the *Marginalia* to Mrs. Thrale's edition of Johnson's *Letters* that Boswell received £100 for the copyright. This is almost certainly a mistake, for Boswell had received 100 guineas for *Corsica*, which could not have been so valuable a property as a biographical work on Johnson appearing within less than a year after his death. Mrs. Piozzi had £300 for her *Anecdotes* (Hayward's *Autobiography of Mrs. Piozzi*, 1861, ii. 305).

Boswell must have been in Scotland when the book appeared (*Letters*, ii. 329). He was back in London by 28 Nov. (see *ante*, p. 117), but how much before that I have been unable to discover. Meanwhile, the second edition had been going forward under Malone's able editorship.

On 15 Dec. (p. 574) the *London Chronicle* announced that the second edition would appear 'on Thursday next' (22 Dec.). The *Advertisement* to the third edition bears the date 15 Aug. 1786, but the book seems not to have been advertised for sale in the *London Chronicle* until 10 Oct. (lx. 350). The Dillys seem to have overprinted on the third edition, for five years later, when the *Life* was about to appear, Charles Dilly still had a stock of copies on hand. He resolved to use the reputation of the new work to sell the old, which he hoped to make more attractive by the addition of the map. On 30 April 1791 (lxix. 413) he advertised the *Life* in the *London Chronicle* as to be published 'On Monday the 16th of May', and added 'At the same time will be published, By Charles Dilly, the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D. the 3d edit. corrected. To which is now added a Map describing the route of the Travellers. N.B. The Map, price 6d. may be had separately, to accommodate the purchasers of the former editions'. The map itself bears the date '10th April 1791'. As it was sold separately, and often, no doubt,

bound into copies of the first issue, it would be practically impossible to tell genuine copies of the first issue unless they were bound in the original boards. Even with the added attraction of the map, the remaining copies seem to have gone off slowly, for as late as the summer of 1799 Dilly was still advertising the edition for sale. (See *post*, p. 169.) In catalogue o. 9, n. s., of Messrs. J. & J. Leighton, Ltd., there is described a copy of the third edition in which the leaf bearing the advertisement of the *Life of Johnson* is covered by the end paste-down. This may have been the regular way of treating copies sold after the publication of the *Life*.

This was the last edition of the *Tour* published in Boswell's lifetime. The following gives condensed collations of the more important separate editions which have since appeared.

62. *Fourth Edition.* 1807

The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides . . . The Fourth Edition, Revised and Corrected . . . London: Printed for T. Cadell, and W. Davies, Strand, 1807.

Collation:—Octavo, 2 p. l. + pp. xvi + 460; consisting of: Half-title and Title-page, 2 leaves, unpaged; *Dedication*, *Advertisement to the Third Edition*, *Contents*, &c., b_8, pp. [i]-[xvi]; Text (including Index), B–Gg_6, in eights, pp. [1]–460. An Index is added for the first time, and the map is replaced by an engraved frontispiece (dated 26 August 1807) by W. Evans after Sir Joshua Reynolds's well-known portrait of Boswell. This edition has the same number of pages of text as the third edition, indeed is practically a page-for-page reprint of it, but shows some editorial manipulation. On p. 7 Lord Pembroke's remark on Johnson's '*bow-wow* way' is thrown into a footnote. References (in crotchets) to the fifth edition of the *Life of Johnson* (published by Cadell and Davies in this year) are added as notes on pp. 8, 32, 36, 37, 231, 284, 320, 363. Other notes (also in crotchets) are added on pp. 63 and 280. Malone was, I suppose, responsible for these additions. Cadell and Davies purchased the copyright of the *Life* in 1804, and probably secured the copyright of the *Tour* at the same time. (See *post*, p. 172.) The leaves of the copy in the Yale Library (which have been trimmed) measure $8\frac{3}{16}$ by $5\frac{1}{8}$ in.

63. *First American Edition.* 1810

The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, . . . From the London edition, revised and corrected by the Author. Philadelphia: Published by John F. Watson, No. 98, South Second Street, 1810.

The same, with a title-page bearing the imprint, 'Published by Inskeep and Bradford, New York; and William M'Ilheny, Boston, 1810'.

These are the same sheets, and the same highly sympathetic preface, dated 'Philadelphia, May, 1810', appears in both. The book is an octavo, pp. xviii + 414. It seems, with the exception of the preface, to have been a reprint of the fourth edition. The Harvard College Library possesses copies of both issues.

64. *Fifth Edition.* 1812

The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, . . . the Fifth Edition Revised and Corrected. . . . London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 1812.

Duodecimo, printed in half-sheets, pp. xiv + 454; consisting of: Title-page, *Dedication*, *Advertisement to the Third Edition*, and *Contents*, 6 leaves, pp. [i]–xii; b_1, one leaf, pp. [xiii] (blank)–xiv; B–Qq_5 in sixes, pp. [1]–454. The engraved frontispiece portrait of Boswell is by R. Cooper, after Reynolds's portrait. The text seems to be identical with that of the fourth edition.

This cheap and ugly little book was evidently issued to match the duodecimo edition of the *Life* which Cadell and Davies had brought out in the previous year. The leaves of the copy in the British Museum (which have been trimmed) measure $6\frac{1}{16}$ by $3\frac{13}{16}$ in.

65. *Sixth Edition.* 1813

The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, . . . The Sixth Edition Revised and Corrected. . . . London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 1813.

Octavo, 2 p. l. + pp. xvi + 460.

This is a page-for-page reprint of the fourth edition, with no additions, and no intentional changes. The frontispiece portrait of Boswell is from the same plate as that in the fourth edition. The leaves of

the copy in the Grenville collection of the British Museum (which have been trimmed) measure $8\frac{3}{8}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ in.

66. *Carruthers's Edition.* 1852

Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides . . . A new Edition, Illustrated, with Introduction and Notes, by Robert Carruthers, Esq., of Inverness. London: Office of the National Illustrated Library, 227, Strand. [1852.]

Small octavo, pp. xxix + 361.

This was the first edition of the *Tour* separately 'edited' in the modern sense, for Croker in all his editions made the *Tour* an integra part of the text of the *Life*. It is still the most elaborately annotated, and in many respects the most useful to any one reading the *Tour* as a work by itself, not a section of the *Life of Johnson*. The editor recorded a great amount of information concerning the families and persons mentioned in the text which has not been reprinted in any subsequent edition. Indeed, Carruthers (see *D.N.B.*), because of his wide and accurate knowledge of Scotland and Scots life in the eighteenth century, performed for the *Tour* a service comparable to that of Croker for the *Life*, and it is something more than a pity that his work has since been so generally neglected.

This book was issued to match an illustrated edition of the *Life of Johnson* in four volumes, published by the National Illustrated Library in 1851. (See *post*, under *Life of Johnson*.) Carruthers's valuable preface is dated 29 Mar. 1852. The illustrations are interesting and valuable.

67. *Chapman's Edition.* 1924

Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D. Edited by R. W. Chapman. Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1924.

Octavo, pp. xix + 511. Facsimiles, plates, and map. The text of the *Tour* (that of the third edition) occupies pp. 151 ff., and is followed by an elaborate critical apparatus and notes (mostly textual) by the editor. This is the best edition in respect of textual criticism that has yet been made of any of Boswell's works. See what I have said above, under the first edition (p. 114). A new impression is now preparing, which will correct a few errors in the text of Johnson's *Journey*, the result of an accident in correcting the proofs.

68. *Editions of the Tour included with the Life of Johnson*

In 1831, John Wilson Croker, acting on the absurd hypothesis that Boswell would have incorporated the text of the *Tour* into the *Life* had he not been prevented from so doing by legal impediments arising out of its previous publication, inserted the whole book into his edition of the *Life*, between the proper dates in 1773. Although he was forced by adverse criticism to remove in his later editions most of the impedimenta with which he had disfigured Boswell's text, he stuck resolutely to this, and so the *Tour* appears as an integral part of the *Life* in all three of his editions. (See below, under *Life*.)

No other editor has been so hardy, but all the great editions of the *Life* since Croker's time have added the *Tour* as a supplementary volume, usually indexed together with it, and, indeed, treated as part of the *Life*, quite as it was with Croker. Besides the National Illustrated Library edition already mentioned (which is not a good example, as Carruthers does not seem to have edited the *Life*, though one index serves for all the volumes), the *Tour* appears in Fitzgerald's, Napier's (separately indexed), and Hill's editions. This arrangement has served largely to destroy the identity of the *Tour*, and to foster the general and erroneous impression that Boswell was literally a man of one book.

A work which appeared towards the end of 1785 was little more than a compilation from the *Tour to the Hebrides*, viz.:

69. *Dr. Johnson's Table Talk.* 1785

Dr. Johnson's | Table Talk: | or, | Conversations | of the late | Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. | On | A Variety of Useful and | Entertaining Subjects. | (Arranged in Alphabetical Order, after the Manner | of Selden's Table Talk.) | 'The Opinions of every man must be learned | from himself.' | Dr. Johnson's Life of Sir Tho. Browne, p. 286 | [*Shaded rule*] | London: | Printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, | Pater-Noster Row, 1785.

Collation:—Octavo, pp. viii + 198, as follows: Half-title, Title, *Advertisement*, four leaves, pp. [i]–viii; B to O_3 in eights. There is a running headline, *Dr. Johnson's Table Talk*, and the pages are numbered in arabic numerals. The materials are arranged under alphabetical headings, 'Anecdotes and Bon Mots', 'Adversary',

'Army', 'Addison', &c. The book is well printed on a very good quality of paper.

Issued in boards, and probably also 'sewed'. I have not come across an advertisement giving the price. The leaves of an uncut copy in the Yale Library measure $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$ in.

The compiler states in his preface (p. vii), 'The materials of which this book is composed, were partly collected by a person who had the honour of enjoying many conversations with Dr. Johnson, and partly extracted from the anecdotes in Mr. Boswell's late Journal; which extracts, from the manner of their being introduced and arranged here, the compiler presumes will not mutilate Mr. Boswell's book, and yet add novelty and improvement to his own'. As a matter of fact, nearly all the anecdotes in the book are extracted from the *Tour*.

A selection of anecdotes said to be from the *Tour* was also inserted as pp. xxvii–xlvi of the seventh edition of Kearsley's *Beauties of Samuel Johnson*, 1787. (See the description of the eighth edition, *post*, p. 200.) These anecdotes were, however, taken from Robinson's *Table Talk*, and include some anecdotes not by Boswell.

Two translations from the *Tour to the Hebrides* appeared soon after its publication. The first is of only a portion, the second of the entire work. See also item 111.

70. *French Translation of the 'Authentick Account of the Distresses and Escape of the Grandson of King James II,'* &c. 1786 [1]

Détail authentique | des Malheurs | et de la Fuite | du Prince | Charles Edouard | dans les Hébrides. | [*Printer's ornament*] | A Paris, | Chez Théophile Barrois, Libraire, rue | du Hurepoix, N° 18. | [*Double rules*] | M.DCC.LXXXVI. | Avec Approbation & Permission.

Collation:—Octavo, 2 p. l. + pp. ii + 53; consisting of: Half-title, as above, ending with 'Hébrides' (with blank reverse), and Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), two preliminary unpaged leaves; *Avertissement du Traducteur*, pp. [i]–ii; Text of the *Détail Authentique*, &c., pp. [1]–53. *Approbation* and imprint of 'la Veuve Herissant, rue Neuve Notre-Dame' on p. 53 (with blank reverse). There are no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. The signatures

[1] See footnote, p. 69.

are A to C (three sheets, each 8 leaves), followed by D (2 leaves) and preceded by 3 unsigned leaves carrying the Half-title, Title-page, and *Avertissement*, which makes the following statement:

'Ce morceau intéressant est tiré du journal d'un voyage dans les Hébrides, que fit, en 1773, M. Jacques Boswell, Ecuyer, avec le célebre Docteur Samuel Johnson. L'Editeur a vu dans cette tournée plusieurs personnes qui ont joué un grand rôle dans les malheurs & la fuite du Prince Charles Edouard; c'est d'eux qu'il tient les détails qu'il a donnés récemment au Public, & qui en attestent l'authenticité. Le journal de M. Boswell, écrit avec élégance & simplicité, renferme aussi beaucoup de Pensées recueillies des conversations du Docteur Johnson; j'en ai traduit quelques-unes, & en ai joint ici plusieurs autres que j'ai choisies dans ses différens Ouvrages.'

Pp. 1–29 are taken up with the *Détail Authentique* (translating pp. 218–39 of Boswell's first edition); pp. 30–8 with specimens of Johnson's conversation, selected from other parts of the *Tour*, and pp. 39–53 with miscellaneous aphorisms from Johnson's works. The translator has added a few notes of his own, some of which are highly amusing, such as that on Macdonald of Kingsburgh (p. 3): 'Chef du tribu de ce nom; elles sont nommées *Clams* [*sic*] dans la langue Ecossoise.'

I have no information as to the author of this translation. It is not mentioned in A. A. Barbier's *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes*, nor in Quérard's *Supercheries Littéraires*. The only copy I have ever seen is in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. There is also a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The book, or rather pamphlet, was issued 'stabbed', perhaps with wrapper. The leaves of the Edinburgh copy measure $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{15}{16}$ inches.

A German translation of the entire text of the *Tour* appeared apparently in 1786, though post-dated 1787. Heinsius records it as published at Lübeck in 1786 by 'Niemann u. C.'; Kayser, as published in the same year and at the same place, but by 'Donatius'. Holzmann and Bohatta in their *Deutsches Anonymen-Lexikon* (i. 254) give the imprint as 'Lübeck, 1787', and W. Engelmann (*Bibliotheca Geographica*, p. 1131) as 'Lübeck, 1787, Donatius'. This is actually the imprint of the copy in the British Museum, which bears no statement to the effect that it is a second edition. The solution of the difficulty is probably to be found in J. G. Meusel's *Das Gelehrte Teutschland* (5th ed.), where the work is recorded as published '1787

(eigentl[ich] 1786)'. However, Heinsius's mention of a different publisher looks as though he might possibly have seen a different issue. I append a collation of the British Museum copy, which I have since checked with a copy in the possession of Professor Tinker.

71. *German Translation.* 1787 (1786)[1]

James Boswell, Esq. | Tagebuch | einer Reise | nach den | Hebridischen Inseln | mit | Doctor Samuel Johnson. | [*Double rules*] | [*Long rule*] | Nach der zweyten Ausgabe aus dem Englischen | übersetzt. | [*Long rule*] | Lübeck. | Bey Christian Gottfried Donatius. | 1787.

Collation:—Octavo, pp. viii + 534 + one blank leaf; Title-page, *Vorbericht des Uebersetzers*, four leaves, pp. [i]–viii; A to Kk in eights, Ll_4, pp. [1]–534, plus one blank leaf. The translation seems to have been issued without a Half-title, the four preliminary leaves being no doubt those missing from Ll. It is a cheap little book, printed on poor paper, and (probably) issued without a wrapper. The leaves of the copy in the British Museum (uncut) measure $7\frac{11}{16}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. According to Kayser's *Bücher-Lexicon* the price was 12 neugroschen.

The author of this translation was Albrecht Wittenberg (1728–1807), journalist and littérateur of Hamburg, who, besides a vast amount of work in periodicals, published a few original books and many translations from the French and English. Among the latter may be enumerated Macpherson's *Fingal* (1764), Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* (under the title *Sie läßt sich herab zu siegen oder die Irrthümer einer Nacht*, 1773), Home's *Douglas* (1774), a collection 'der neuesten und besten Schauspiele' in French and English (1774), George Anne Bellamy's *Apology* (1786), Lucy Peacock's *Adventures of the Six Princesses of Babylon* (1787), Kippis's *Life of Capt. Cook* (1789), and Burke's *Thoughts on the Prospect of a Peace with the Regicide Directory of France* (1797). (See J. G. Meusel, *Das Gelehrte Teutschland*; W. Engelmann, *Bibliotheca Geographica*, p. 1131; Kayser's *Bücher-Lexicon*; Goedeke's *Grundriss*, Band 5, Abt. 2, p. 381, Band 4, Abt. 1, p. 57; *Allgem. Deutsch. Biog.*)

Wittenberg omits all Boswell's preliminary matter, substituting a very able 'Vorbericht des Uebersetzers', in which he states, among other things, that if the work receives favour he intends also to make

[1] See footnote, p. 63.

a translation of Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes*. The translation of Mrs. Piozzi seems never to have appeared, from which we may infer that the translation of the *Tour* did not meet with a very cordial reception. Wittenberg has somewhat abridged the text according to principles best enunciated by himself: 'Ich habe mir dabey die Freyheit genommen, hier und da einige unübersetzliche[1] Stellen, einiges, was deutsche Leser gar nicht interessiren könnte, einige Briefe, die bloße Complimente enthielten, wegzulassen. Auch habe ich einige lateinische Gedichte Johnsons, da die lateinische Dichtkunst jetzt doch leider! so sehr vernachläßiget wird, nicht abdrucken lassen, weil sie doch den wenigsten Lesern verständlich gewesen wären.'

His translation ends with the paragraph beginning 'I have now completed my account of our Tour to the Hebrides' (*Life*, v. 404), and he omits (usually with notes to that effect) passages like the long note on Burke's wit (p. 30, *Life*, v. 32), Sir James Macdonald's epitaph and letters (p. 190, *Life*, v. 151), and even the note in which Boswell relates his exploit of bellowing like a cow in Drury Lane Theatre (p. 525, *Life*, v. 396). He allows himself occasionally the luxury of a note of his own. Thus he feels obliged to retort to Johnson's dictum that 'Leibnitz was as paltry a fellow as I know' ('Leibnitz war ein so armseliger Kerl, als ich nur kenne'), 'Hier zeigt sich Johnsons Paradoxie im höchsten Grade, da er sich nicht schämt, Leibnitzen, den die ganze gelehrte Welt verehrt, einen armseligen Kerl zu nennen' (p.380). He is also shocked by Boswell's Latin in that passage in which he says that Leod 'surpassed the house of Austria; for he was *felix* both *bella gerere et nubere*' (p. 305), and protests: 'Herr Boswell ist in der Anwendung des *felix Austria nube* nicht glücklich; *nubere* kann nur von Personen weiblichen Geschlechts gesagt werden.'

So far as I am able to judge, the translation of Johnson's conversation is excellent, and carries over astonishingly well the sound of the Doctor's voice.—"Boswell. 'Wir hatten Wein bereits vor der Vereinigung.'—Johnson. 'Nein, mein Herr. Sie hatten elendes Zeug, was niemand in Frankreich haben wollte, und worin sie sich nicht betrinken konnten.'—Boswell. 'Ich versichere Sie, mein Herr, die Trunkenheit war sehr gemein.'—Johnson. 'Nein, mein Herr. Es gab Leute, die an der Wassersucht starben, welche sie bekamen, wenn sie es versuchten, sich zu betrinken'" (p. 325). It is hard to understand why Germany, which has no modern translation of any work of Boswell's, does not reprint this book, which would

[1] See footnote, p. 63.

probably be more useful on account of its smaller bulk than a translation of the entire *Life*, and would serve equally well to give the German reader an idea of Boswell's peculiar biographical genius.

72. Ode to Mrs. Thrale. 1788 (dated 1784)

Ode | by | Dr. Samuel Johnson | to | Mrs. Thrale, | upon their supposed approaching Nuptials. | [*Shaded rule*] | —Tauri ruentis | In venerem tolerare pondus.—Hor. | [*Shaded rule*] | London: | Printed for R. Faulder, New-Bond-Street. | M DCC LXXX IV.

Collation:—Quarto, pp. 16; consisting of: Half-title, 'Ode | by | Dr. Samuel Johnson | to | Mrs. Thrale. | [*Rule*] | [Price One Shilling.]' with '[Entered at Stationers' Hall]' in centre of reverse, pp. [1–2]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [3–4]; *Preface by the Editor*, pp. [5]–8; *Argument* (with blank reverse), pp. [9–10]; Text of *Ode*, pp. [11]–16. The Ode consists of twelve four-line stanzas printed two to a page. There is a running headline, *Preface*, pp. 6, 7, 8 being numbered in the usual fashion in arabic numerals, but none for the Ode, pp. 12–16 being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between round brackets. The signatures are [B] and C (two sheets, each 4 leaves).

Issued (probably) 'stabbed', without wrapper. It sometimes turns up in sheets (see below). There are copies in the British Museum, the library of the University of Edinburgh, and a rotograph copy (available for loan) in the library of Yale University. The leaves of an unopened copy in the possession of the Brick Row Book Shop measure $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

As the 'Preface by the Editor' quotes extensively from Mrs. Piozzi's edition of Johnson's *Letters*, which appeared early in 1788, it is obvious that the date in the imprint is falsified. I have found no newspaper advertisements, but the work is reviewed in *Monthly Review*, June 1788 (lxxviii. 528). The notice of entry in Stationers' Hall seems, like the date, to be a fiction, for the Registers have been twice searched for me without finding any mention of the work.

I have accepted this as genuine only after the accumulation of the most conclusive kind of evidence. There seems every reason to suppose that Boswell would not have written a ribald poem on Johnson, either during his lifetime or after his death. The internal evidence rather tends to confirm this supposition. One cannot tell much from the verse, as it is a professed attempt to parody Johnson, but the

prose preface, which is of considerable length, does not in any part of it sound like Boswell. The following sentences are a characteristic specimen: 'The most distinguished of them, and, as one may say, the foreman of the whole, was Dr. Samuel Johnson, the celebrated Lichfield authour, who wrote an English Dictionary, and several works of a good moral tendency, and was famous, besides, for shrewd sayings and lively jokes. He was a very large man, and by no means well-looking, but rather the contrary; neither was he neat and cleanly in his person and dress.' The spelling 'authour' is Boswellian, but too common to count for much, especially where the tone and sentiment are so unlike Boswell. There can be no doubt, however, that he wrote the Ode.

On 14 Feb. 1783 Boswell wrote to John Wilkes as follows: 'I did expect that you would before now have sent me a peace-offering of wit, for having *put me in fear* of Dr. Johnson's anger at Mr. Dilly's. But that good and hospitable bookseller informs me that the Chamberlain of the City of London [Wilkes] insists that he is entitled to hear first from the Laird of Auchinleck. I therefore, Sir, now *demand* what we in the law language call a *solatium*, not of shining ore, but of brilliant pleasantry' (*Letters*, ii. 314). As Professor Tinker remarks in a note on this passage, Boswell had not been in London since June 1781, and therefore this must refer to the dinner of 8 May 1781, the second at which Boswell brought Johnson and Wilkes together (*Life*, iv. 101 ff.). In a second letter to Wilkes, dated 26 March 1783, we discover what it was that Boswell was afraid would rouse Dr. Johnson's anger: 'Mr. Boswell presents his compliments to Mr. Wilkes. An invitation to dinner will not do. The Laird of Auchinleck is not hungry; and he does not want wine, but wit. In short, he must have a pleasant apology for *putting him in fear* of Dr. Johnson's displeasure on account of a certain epithalamium' (*Letters*, ii. 315).

The 'epithalamium' must have been this poem. Henry Thrale died 4 April 1781; incredible as it seems, Boswell must have composed it during the following month. He evidently recited it to Wilkes, who teased him by threatening to show a copy to Dr. Johnson. He had, it may be added, already experienced Dr. Johnson's anger for proposing to write a poem in which the names of the Doctor and Mrs. Thrale were to be coupled (*Life*, v (*Hebrides*). 139; see *post*, Projected Works, item 8).

There are three important pieces of evidence which force this conclusion.

1. In the first edition of the *Life of Johnson*, in discussing imita-

ODE

BY

Dr. SAMUEL JOHNSON

TO

Mrs. THRALE,

UPON THEIR SUPPOSED APPROACHING NUPTIALS.

——— *Tauri ruentis*
In venerem tolerare pondus.——Hor.

LONDON:

Printed for R. FAULDER, New-Bond-Street.

MDCCLXXXIV.

tions of Johnson's style, Boswell mentions an 'imaginary Ode by him to Mrs. Thrale', and adds: 'Johnson's wishing to unite himself with this rich widow, was much talked of, but I believe without foundation. The report, however, gave occasion to a poem, not without characteristical merit, entitled "Ode to Mrs. Thrale, by Samuel Johnson, LL.D. on their supposed approaching Nuptials:" printed for Mr. Faulder, in Bond-street' (ii. 562 n.). This is suspicious, and it becomes more suspicious when we find added in the second edition, I shall quote as a specimen, the first three stanzas' (iii. 664 n.).

2. I have the following from the Rev. Dr. McKinlay of Stonehouse; 'My friend Mr. Glen, a bookseller in Glasgow, told me that at the Auchinleck sale some years ago he bought some bundles of odds and ends, and among them discovered a quantity of loose sheets of the *Ode*. He was able to piece together a few complete copies, but the greater part of them was so injured by dirt and damp as to be useless. At the same time he found many loose sheets of the poem *No Abolition of Slavery*, but could not make out a complete copy. The title-pages were all gone. Does not this look as if Boswell had become ashamed of such performances, and called them in?'

3. The Dyce copy of this work, now in the South Kensington Museum, bears the following inscription: 'Written by Jas. Boswell, Esq., as he assured me S. L.'. 'S. L.' is identified as Samuel Lysons (1763–1819), the antiquary.

Wilkes perhaps lent his aid in composing the prose part of the pamphlet. The motto, the garbled extracts from Johnson's letters to Mrs. Thrale, the 'bell-man's rhymes' on p. 7, seem to me to be in the taste of the author of the *Essay on Woman*. Boswell cannot, however, be freed from the major responsibility in the publication, nor can it be certainly argued from the presence of the sheets at Auchinleck that he attempted to suppress it. It is perhaps rather more probable that it was printed at his expense, and that Faulder turned over to him the unsold copies.[1]

73. Johnson's Letter to Chesterfield. 1790

The Celebrated | Letter | from | Samuel Johnson, LL.D. | to | Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield; | now first published, | with Notes, | By James Boswell, Esq. | [*Rule*]

[1] After this was set up, Col. Isham found the following passage in Boswell's journal, now in his possession: 'Frid. 9 [May 1788]. Walked about with a sprained ancle much, having determined to publish Johnson's Supposed Nuptial Ode.'

THE CELEBRATED

LETTER

FROM

SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

TO

PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE, EARL OF CHESTERFIELD;

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED,

WITH NOTES,

BY JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HENRY BALDWIN;
FOR CHARLES DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.
MDCCXC.
[Price Half a Guinea.]

London: | Printed by Henry Baldwin; | for Charles Dilly, in the Poultry. | M DCC XC. | [Price Half a Guinea.]

Collation:—Quarto, pp. 4; consisting of: Title-page, as above, with 'Entered in the Hall-Book of the Company of Stationers.' in centre of the reverse, pp. [1–2]; Text of the *Letter*, &c., pp. [3]–4. P. 4 is numbered with an arabic numeral placed between square brackets. The publication consists of half a quarto sheet, folded in the middle. It appears to have been printed from the same type as the corresponding portion of the *Life*, 1st ed., i. 141–2 (Hill, i. 261–3), though with various re-arrangements which obscure the typographical identity. The page-division is not the same, a heading, not in the *Life*, has been added, and the inverted commas which precede each paragraph there have been dropped, except that through inadvertence those preceding the salutation have been allowed to stand ("My Lord); a two-line initial 'I' is substituted for the ordinary capital in the first line of the body of the letter, and on p. 3 a press-number, 4, has been added. These re-arrangements cause differences in spacing in the first two lines of each paragraph, and, in one instance at least, in line division. That the type is the same, however, is indicated by a note which Boswell wrote on the revise for p. 289 of vol. 1, referring to the companion piece to the *Letter*, viz. the *Conversation with George III*: 'N.B. The same number of the Conversation as a separate publication with its own title-page, to be thrown off as of the Letter to Lord Chesterfield' (R. W. Chapman, 'Boswell's Proof-Sheets', *London Mercury*, xv. 53). To make the matter certain, Mr. C. J. Hindle, of the staff of the Bodleian Library, has kindly applied for me the 'diagonal test' (*Trans. Bibliog. Soc.* xii. 272), and reports that except for the first two lines of each paragraph the text of the *Letter* shows exact correspondence with that of the *Life*.

For further notes see no. 75.

The *Letter to Lord Chesterfield* seems to be excessively rare. There are copies in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and in the Adam Collection. I have not looked at the Bodleian copy, but the other two are on different paper from that of the *Life*. The leaves of the copy in the British Museum (only slightly trimmed) measure 11 by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

74. *Adam's Facsimile.* 1927

See no. 76.

75. Johnson's Conversation with George III. 1790

A | Conversation | between | His Most Sacred Majesty | George III. | and | Samuel Johnson, LL.D. | Illustrated with Observations, | by James Boswell, Esq. | [*Rule*] | London: | Printed by Henry Baldwin; | for Charles Dilly, in the Poultry. | M DCC XC. | [Price Half a Guinea.]

Collation:— Quarto, pp. 8; consisting of: Title-page, as above, with 'Entered in the Hall-Book of the Company of Stationers.' in centre of the reverse, pp. [1–2]; Text of *A Conversation, &c.*, pp. [3]–8. Pages 4 to 8 are numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. This publication consists of one quarto sheet, printed, with some re-arrangement, from the same type as the corresponding portion of the *Life*, 1st ed., i. 291–6 (Hill, ii. 33–42). A heading has been added, and a two-line initial substituted for the ordinary capital at the beginning. Mr. Hindle reports, however, that, except for the first two lines of the first paragraph, the text of the *Conversation* shows exact correspondence with that of the *Life*. See the note on the preceding item.

Issued (apparently) folded, but not 'stabbed' or sewed. There are copies in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Adam Collection. I have never heard of any others. The leaves of the copy in the British Museum (only slightly trimmed) measure 11 by 8½ inches. Both copies which I have examined are on different paper from that of the *Life*, and of the *Letter to Lord Chesterfield*.

The existence of these extracts as separate publications is not easily explained. The following summarizes all that we really know about them:

1. Boswell's note in the revises makes it clear that the *Conversation* was printed at the same time the corresponding sheet of the *Life* went through the press, and that the *Letter* had been printed some time before. This would have been between March and perhaps June 1790, for on 12 Mar. he had printed one hundred pages of the first volume, a month later one hundred and sixty pages, and on 30 Sept. had reached p. 25 of the second volume (*Letters*, ii. 391, 393; R. W. Chapman, 'Boswell's Proof-Sheets', *London Mercury*, xv. 54).

2. However, the extracts were not entered at Stationers' Hall until 29 April 1791, when the date of publication of the *Life* was already

announced. It is, therefore, incredible that they were on sale during 1790, or indeed much before the *Life* itself.

3. The *Letter* and *Conversation* were advertised for sale in some of the newspapers. I have sought in vain for any such advertisements, but we have Boswell's word that they exist (see *post*). In view of the date of the registration at Stationers' Hall, I should expect to find the advertisements during April or May 1791.

4. In spite of Boswell's testimony as to the advertisements, there is not the slightest evidence that any copies of the extracts were actually sold. None of the reviews or magazines mentions them, which, in view of the sensational nature of their contents, is pretty good evidence that they were not in circulation. The exorbitant price of half a guinea each for pamphlets of four and eight pages respectively could not have been fixed with the idea of promoting a large sale. The intention was clearly to have the extracts technically on sale, but not to sell any copies.

5. Boswell unquestionably used the separate publication of the extracts to defend his literary property in those passages. The following valuable entry may be found in J. B. Nichols's *Illustrations* (vii. 344):

'July, 1791

'On the first publication of this work the newspapers eagerly seized on portions of it. Mr. Boswell, to protect his copyright, drew up the following Apology, to be inserted in the papers, which is printed from his autograph, in my possession. N.

'"From our desire to furnish interesting entertainment to our readers, we inserted Dr. Johnson's Conversation with his Majesty, and his celebrated Letter to Lord Chesterfield, which we extracted from Mr. Boswell's Life of Johnson. We had not the smallest apprehension that we were invading literary property, which we hold sacred. But it seems those two valuable articles were entered in Stationers' Hall as *separate publications*, which was advertised in some of the newspapers; but the advertisements escaped us. We are very sorry for the mistake; but Mr. Boswell is too candid to take any advantage, and upon our assuring him of the fact, has declared he will not prosecute."

In a note which Nichols transcribed from Alexander Chalmers's copy of the *Life*, Chalmers records the fact that the apology 'was written in Dilly's shop, and was the cause of my writing "Lesson in Biography; or, How to write the Life of one's Friend"'. (This *jeu d'esprit* is reprinted in all the editions of Croker's Boswell.)

A

CONVERSATION

BETWEEN

HIS MOST SACRED MAJESTY

GEORGE III.

AND

SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

ILLUSTRATED WITH OBSERVATIONS,

By JAMES BOSWELL, Esq.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HENRY BALDWIN;

FOR CHARLES DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.

MDCCXC.

[Price Half a Guinea.]

From Chalmers's note, one might reasonably infer that Boswell printed the extracts separately for the express purpose of forestalling the newspapers. Their unpleasant habits of extracting being notorious, he must have known that, unless something were done to prevent it, they would, immediately on the appearance of his book, reprint its most sensational portions. There was no doubt in his mind as to which those passages were. In his first advertisement of the *Life* (*Lond. Chron.* 19 Mar. 1791) he had specified the letter to Chesterfield as one of its principal attractions, and in writing to Malone he had debated whether he should not also mention the Conversation (*Letters*, ii. 428). It may indeed be that he feared that making these gems cheaply accessible would hurt the sale of his book. We know, as a matter of fact, that he was greatly worried for fear it would prove a failure; it had taken much longer to write and had grown much larger and more expensive than he had expected. He may, therefore, have adopted this course as a precaution. By printing a few copies of the extracts separately, entering them at Stationers' Hall, and advertising them for sale, he acquired the right to prosecute any newspaper or magazine that reprinted those passages. As soon as his vigilance detected such an infringement, he forced the culprit to publish an apology calculated to inform the other newspapers of his intention to defend his property.

There are great difficulties in this theory. If the real object of the separate publications was to *prevent* the newspapers from reprinting the extracts, would not that end have been better served by advertising them widely and conspicuously? It is quite certain that this was not done; Boswell, in the apology he dictated, virtually admits it. It is clear from the text of the apology itself that at least some of the newspapers had never heard of their existence. Moreover, both the *Letter* and the *Conversation* were freely reprinted without protest by Boswell in many of the monthly magazines and reviews. (His friend John Nichols printed the *Letter* in a most conspicuous position in the second volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1791—on the reverse of the general title-page, and in an especially large type.) Why did Boswell make no protest at these undoubted infringements of his property? Was it because, by the time the reviews appeared, the success of the *Life* was already well assured? Or did he consider the extracting by the newspapers alone as dangerous to his interests?

I think it more likely that Boswell originally had the separate publications made, not with the newspapers in mind, but to prevent other biographers from using those passages. (This was also

Croker's view.) When the sheets were printed in 1790, he could not well tell how long it might yet be before his book could be published. There was danger that in the meantime some one else might get the text of the *Letter* and the *Conversation* from the same sources he himself had employed; there might even be leakage from the printing-office. Having printed the extracts, he was in a dilemma: unless he entered them in Stationers' Hall, he had no property in them, but, if he did enter them, he had to deposit nine copies for distribution to various public libraries, and thus practically invite piracy. He seems to have preferred keeping the extracts unregistered, trusting that he would hear of any projected work including the *Letter* and the *Conversation* in time to forestall it. His tilt with the newspapers may in part have been occasioned by a real desire to keep, for a time, the *Letter* and the *Conversation* from being made too easily and cheaply accessible, but it was in the main, I fancy, a characteristic scheme to secure some free advertising. Just before the *Life* appeared, he registered the extracts and advertised them obscurely; when the newspapers fell into the trap and published them, he forced them to print an apology of his own composition, which was in effect excellent 'publicity' for his book.

76. *Adam's Facsimile.* 1927

Samuel Johnson's | Celebrated Letter | to the | Earl of Chesterfield | and his | Interview with | King George III | as published in 1790 | by | James Boswell

Collation:—Twelve unpaged leaves, reproducing by half-tone process the *Letter* and the *Conversation* in the size of the originals, as follows: 1st leaf, blank; 2nd, 'Christmas Greetings, 1927 | from | R B Adam | Buffalo, N.Y. | U.S.A.' (with blank reverse); 3rd, Title-page, as above (with blank reverse); 4th and 5th, reproduction of the four pages of the *Letter*; 6th, blank; 7th–10th, reproduction of the eight pages of the *Conversation*; 11th, 12th, blank.

Issued in light-blue boards with dark-blue buckram back. The leaves (trimmed on top and side) measure $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

77. **The Grocer of London. 1790**

William Pitt, | The | Grocer of London, | An Excellent New Ballad, | Written by James Boswell, Esq. | And sung by him at Guildhall on | Lord-Mayor's Day, 1790; | When, after the

Alarms of War interrupting | our Commerce, an honourable Peace was | announced. | Tune, Dibdin's Poor Jack.

Collation :—One half of a folio leaf, unpaged, printed on one side, the other being entirely blank. At the top is a woodcut of a gentleman in cocked hat, wearing a sword. Then comes the heading, as above. The ballad follows, two stanzas of eight verses each, with a repeated chorus of four verses. The sheet bears no imprint, but it must have been printed in London by, or shortly after, 9 Nov. 1790. The text seems to be identical with the version which appeared in *Edin. Advt.*, 16 Nov. 1790.

Issued as a broadside, probably gratis. I know of only two copies, both in the possession of Col. Isham, who secured them among the Malahide papers. Both are untrimmed except upon the right-hand edge, and measure 13 by $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

Col. Isham, in turning up this piece, made an entirely unexpected addition to the list of Boswell's separate publications. The biographers, though from the first they had known that Boswell composed and sang such a ballad, had been inclined to think that it was irrecoverable, and perhaps never printed. In June 1926, however, I unearthed a complete text in *Edin. Advt.*, 16 Nov. 1790,[1] but nowhere ran upon anything that led me to suspect the existence of a broadside. Fortunately I was able, through Col. Isham's kindness, to inspect his unique originals and insert a description while my book was in the press.

On 9 Nov. 1790 Alderman Boydell was installed Lord Mayor of London, and gave a magnificent feast at Guildhall. National feeling at the moment was unusually intense. Burke was urging armed intervention in France, and a war with Spain had appeared inevitable because of Spain's resistance to the extension of British trading interests to the north-west coast of America and in the South Seas. The aggression of Spain had suddenly collapsed because of the unexpected repudiation of the Family Compact by the French National Assembly. On 28 Oct. 1790 Pitt's envoy succeeded in forcing Spain to agree to a Convention guaranteeing Great Britain all the trade privileges which she had formerly contested. This was announced in London on 4 Nov. 1790 (*London Gazette Extraordinary*). The text of the agreement was published on Lord Mayor's Day itself (*Lond. Chron.* 9 Nov. 1790).

[1] I have since been informed that it is also printed in *St. James's Chronicle*, 11 Nov. 1790, but have not been able to examine the item myself.

Boswell, since early in 1784, had been vainly attempting to ingratiate himself with Pitt. Although the minister had replied graciously to a letter accompanying a copy of the first *Letter to the People of Scotland*, he had later contemptuously ignored several letters which Boswell 'wrote at intervals requesting to wait on him' (*Letters*, ii. 320, 366). Boswell naturally resented this and thought Pitt 'an insolent fellow', but because he was so able he felt that 'he must on the whole support him' (*Letters*, ii. 371). He could not, however, with any shadow of self-respect, address any more letters to him. In this hastily composed ballad he seems to have intended at once to express his enthusiastic loyalty to the Government, and to make a final overture to Pitt—an overture which, being convivial and informal, might succeed, and, if ignored, would not subject him to so great indignity as a refusal to acknowledge a direct appeal. Since his earliest youth, Boswell had fancied that he had a fetching way of singing after-dinner ballads of his own composition. The *Edin. Advt.* records two other pieces of this nature, the first a political ditty entitled *The Midlothian Address*, which he sang at a dinner of the Town Council of Edinburgh in 1784, the other a ballad 'to the tune of "Hosier's Ghost"', with which he enlivened a dinner of the Humane Society earlier in this same year 1790 (*Edin. Advt.* xli. 210; liii. 229).

There is some doubt as to the actual circumstances of the public delivery of the song. John Taylor in *Records of my Life* (1832, i. 89-90) says that Boswell prefaced the singing with a speech in which he complained that, although it had been his good fortune to meet most of the great personages of Europe, he had never been successful in obtaining an introduction 'to a gentleman who was an honour to his country and whose talents he held in the highest esteem and admiration'. During this Pitt sat as silent and unbending as a statue, but after Boswell, 'partly volunteering and partly pressed by the company', had sung the song no less than six times, the great minister 'was obliged to relax from his gravity, and join in the general laugh at the oddity of Mr. Boswell's character'. The account in *Edin. Advt.*, however, which certainly reads like one of Boswell's own compositions, though it corroborates the five encores, says that Boswell sang the song after Pitt had left the room. At any rate, the ballad failed completely to win Pitt over. Only a week after singing it, Boswell wrote to Henry Dundas, 'Mr. Pitt (I am utterly at a loss to know for what) has treated me arrogantly and ungratefully' (*Letters*, ii. 525).

The newspapers must at once have waxed satirical. A few days later Boswell published in the *World* a reply to his critics, denying that he had shown any servility, 'for I publicly declared in Guildhall, between the *encores*, "that this same Grocer had treated *me* arrogantly and ungratefully; but that, from his great merit as a Minister, I was compelled to support him"'. He hinted mysteriously that he might, in the near future, show that Pitt had 'in one instance at least . . . wanted wisdom'. In the meanwhile he would offer the 'bright part' of a poetical character of him. The verses which follow appear later as ll. 113–22 of *No Abolition of Slavery*. I have been unable to examine a file of the *World* for 1790, but find this remarkable letter preserved by William Gifford in his note to the seventh line of the *Baviad*, 'Tho' Boswell of a song and supper vain'. (See the first edition. The note was altered in editions published after Boswell's death.)

Mr. Fitzgerald twice quoted Taylor (*Life of Garrick*, 1868, i. 422; *Life of Boswell*, ii. 64), assigning a different date each time, both being wrong. At the latter reference he adds a note: 'This song, with other papers of Boswell, was, I recollect, sold at an auction some years ago, when I had an opportunity of reading it. It was bought, I believe, by the late Lord Houghton.' I have always supposed that Fitzgerald was here referring to a manuscript, but it is perhaps more probable that what he saw was another copy of the broadside.

78. No Abolition of Slavery. 1791

No | Abolition | of | Slavery; | or the | Universal Empire of Love: | a | Poem. | [*Rule*] | Facit indignatio versus. Horat.[1] | Omnia vincit amor. Ovid. | [*Rule*] | London: | Printed for R. Faulder, in New Bond-Street. | M DCC XCI. | [Price One Shilling and Sixpence.]

Collation:—Quarto, pp. 24; consisting of: Title-page (as above), with 'Entered at Stationers-Hall. | Erratum. | P. 13, l. 7, for mighty *read* magick.' in centre of the reverse, pp. [1–2]; Dedication *To the Respectable Body of West-India Planters and Merchants* (with blank reverse), pp. [3–4]; Text of *No Abolition of Slavery*, &c., pp. [5]–24. There are no headlines, the pages from 6 to 24 being centrally numbered in arabic numerals placed between round brackets. There are catch-words throughout. The signatures are

[1] The author is Juvenal. Boswell has also substituted 'versus' for 'versum'.

NO

ABOLITION

OF

SLAVERY;

OR THE

UNIVERSAL EMPIRE OF LOVE:

A

POEM.

By James Boswell Esq

Facit indignatio versus. HORAT.

Omnia vincit amor. OVID.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR R. FAULDER, IN NEW BOND-STREET.

M DCC XCI.

[Price One Shilling and Sixpence.]

B and C (two sheets, each 4 leaves), followed by D (2 leaves). and preceded by [A] (2 leaves) carrying the preliminary matter.

Issued 'stabbed', probably without wrapper. There are copies in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the library of Yale University, which has also a rotograph copy available for loan. The leaves of the copy in the Bodleian Library, totally uncut and partially unopened, measure $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{15}{16}$ inches.

I have found no advertisement for this work, but we are fortunately able from other evidence to learn something about the progress of its composition, and to fix very closely the date of publication. In a signed letter to the *World*, about 25 Nov. 1790 (see *ante*, p. 144), Boswell printed lines corresponding to ll. 113–22 of *No Abolition of Slavery* as 'the *bright part* of my character of' Pitt, hinting mysteriously that 'the time may come, when I shall have a proper opportunity to shew, that, in one instance at least, "the man has wanted wisdom"'. In a letter to Temple dated 6 April 1791, without any previous mention of the poem in any of the correspondence now preserved, he says, 'I am thinking to curtail my poem on the Slave Trade and throw it into the world just before the great question comes on next Wednesday' (*Letters*, ii. 433). 'Next Wednesday' would have been 13 April. As a matter of fact, Wilberforce's bill for the abolition of the slave trade came up in the House of Commons on 18 April (*Lond. Chron.* lxix. 373). The pamphlet was entered at Stationers' Hall on 16 April, and the required nine copies were then deposited. On 19 April Boswell sent George Dempster a copy (*Letters*, ii. 435).

Although the poem was published anonymously, its Boswellian authorship was apparent on its face. A review (probably by John Nichols) in *Gent. Mag.*, April 1791 (lxi. 357), bears a note on the line in which the author calls himself 'an antient Baron of the land', 'Aut Boswell, aut ——'. Like *Dorando* the work was generally unknown throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, and was believed to have been suppressed. The existence of a copy (that acquired by the Bodleian) was apparently first announced in a note published in the *Athenæum*, 9 May 1896 (p. 620). It had previously been the property of Lieut.-Col. F. R. C. Grant, who must, of course, have known that it was Boswell's. My facsimile title-page is from this copy.

No Abolition of Slavery is an exceedingly incongruous combination of a love letter with a political pamphlet. Boswell's letter to the *World*, quoted above, shows that the poem against the abolition

of the slave trade was a work which he had had on hand for some time, and which expressed his settled convictions. Slavery, like the American Revolution, was an issue on which he was directly and valiantly opposed to Johnson. He believed, in the first place, that the Abolition Bill, like Fox's East India Bill, was an unwarranted attack on property rights and vested interests, and, in the second, that the real interest of the negroes themselves demanded that the status of slavery be maintained, since 'an abolition of the slave trade would in truth be precluding them from the first step towards progressive civilization'. The long passage in which he expresses his views on the subject, found in all modern editions of the *Life* (Hill, iii. 203–5), is no more than a re-phrasing of the notes and text of *No Abolition of Slavery*, and first appeared in the supplementary pages to the second edition (i. *xvi–*xviii).

His method of procedure in this work is much the same as that adopted in a corresponding portion of the second *Letter to the People of Scotland*. The leading advocates and opponents of the bill—Thurlow, Wilberforce, Lancelot Brown (son to 'Capability Brown'), Sir William Dolben, Windham, Courtenay, Burke, Fox, Pitt—are invoked directly and addressed at some length. There are also spiteful references to the elder Sheridan and Gibbon, and a flattering apostrophe to Richard Cumberland. Because of the wealth of personalia, the poem is readable; as poetry it shows little, if any, advance beyond the *Cub at Newmarket*.

The poem as a whole is 'Addressed to Miss —— most pleasing of' her 'sex'. The amatory passages were probably an afterthought. The poem appears originally to have been an attack on the Abolition Bill, pure and simple, but just before publication its author, wishing for some reason to print a fervent address to some lady, seems to have conceived the thrifty idea of making one publication serve for two. This he accomplished by the ingenious, if far-fetched, device of comparing actual slavery to the subjection of love:

> 'Pernicious as th' effect would be,
> T' abolish negro slavery,
> Such partial freedom would be vain,
> Since Love's strong empire must remain.'

By prefixing eight and appending forty-four lines addressed to 'Miss ——' to his unfinished slavery poem, he accomplished the end he desired, but with decidedly incongruous effect. The author of the communication in the *Athenæum* thought 'Miss ——' might 'perhaps be intended for Miss Bagnal', the sister of the wife of Sir William

Scott (Lord Stowell), whom Boswell first met at just this time. On 6 April 1791 he writes to Temple that he is to be introduced to the lady the next day. Sir William has recommended her highly. Boswell is characteristically in a flutter of excitement, and seriously debating with himself the advisability of offering her his hand (*Letters*, ii. 432–3). So far as I know, no other identification has ever been proposed, though this of Miss Bagnall has not been regarded as altogether convincing. In the original draft of this article I was disposed to look upon it with some favour, but the following entry, which Col. Isham has transcribed for me from Boswell's unpublished journal in his possession, completely disposes of it: 'Thurs. 7 Ap. Dined at Sir William Scott's to meet his sister in law Miss Bagnal of whom we had talked in a kind of jest as one to whom I should make love. She proved to be a fine girl enough; but did not please me much. Her father was there, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir John and Lady Turner and Dr. Fisher. I drank too liberally. Sir Joshua and I staid and played whist and I had some supper.' Miss Bagnall is not mentioned on any of the three days following.

79. Life of Johnson. 1791

The | Life | of | Samuel Johnson, LL.D. | comprehending | an Account of his Studies | and numerous Works, | in chronological Order; | a Series of his epistolary Correspondence | and Conversations with many eminent Persons; | and | various original Pieces of his Composition, | never before published. | The Whole exhibiting a View of Literature and literary Men | in Great-Britain, for near half a Century, | during which he flourished. | In two volumes. | By James Boswell, Esq. | ——Quò fit ut omnis | Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella | Vita Senis.——Horat. | [*Long rule*] | Volume the First [Second] | [*Long rule*] | London: | Printed by Henry Baldwin, | for Charles Dilly, in the Poultry. | M DCC XCI.

Collation:—Quarto, Vol. I: pp. xii + 8 l. + 516; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; *Dedication to Sir Joshua Reynolds*, pp. [iii]–vii (with blank reverse); *Advertisement*, pp. [ix]–xii; *Alphabetical Table of Contents to both Volumes*, 15 unnumbered pages (which would be xiii–xxvii, if numbered), *Corrections and Additions* on the reverse of last leaf, [p. xxviii]; Text of *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, LL.D., pp. [1]–516. There

THE

LIFE

OF

SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

COMPREHENDING

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS STUDIES AND NUMEROUS WORKS,

IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;

A SERIES OF HIS EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE AND CONVERSATIONS WITH MANY EMINENT PERSONS;

AND

VARIOUS ORIGINAL PIECES OF HIS COMPOSITION,

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

THE WHOLE EXHIBITING A VIEW OF LITERATURE AND LITERARY MEN IN GREAT-BRITAIN, FOR NEAR HALF A CENTURY, DURING WHICH HE FLOURISHED.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.

——— *Quò fit ut* OMNIS
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
VITA SENIS.—— HORAT.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HENRY BALDWIN,
FOR CHARLES DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.
MDCC XCI.

is a running headline, *The Life of Dr. Johnson.*, the pages being numbered in arabic numerals. The year and Johnson's age in that year are carried regularly along at the top of the outer margins, beginning with p. 24, before which they appear only on pp. 8, 10, and 16. There are catch-words throughout. The signatures are B to T tt (sixty-four sheets, each 4 leaves), followed by U uu (2 leaves), the whole preceded by one sheet of four leaves, plus one half-sheet of two leaves (both unsigned), carrying the Title-page, Dedication, and Advertisement (pp. i–xii), and two sheets, signed A and B, carrying the Table of Contents and the Corrections. These last were an afterthought, inserted at the beginning of the first volume instead of in their normal position at the end of the second, in order to give the first volume more nearly the thickness of the second, which had extended to greater length than had been anticipated (*Letters*, ii. 417). The interpolated sheets were unnumbered because at least one of them was printed before the Advertisement, which had to precede, had been written (*Letters*, ii. 432). The Title-page of the first volume and the *Dedication* were printed together and form one sheet; the *Advertisement* (two leaves) was printed in the same sheet with the Title-page and (probably) the last leaf ($4\ F_1$) of the second volume. In the Yale copy the binder failed to separate the *Advertisement* from the Title-page, and consequently it appears in vol. II, followed by the *Alphabetical Table of Contents*, which the binder naturally placed there because of the catch-word on p. xii. $M\ m_4$ (pp. 271–2) and $N\ n_1$ (273–4) are cancels. The revises in the possession of Mr. Adam show that these two contiguous leaves were cancelled in order to remove the explicit statement that Johnson wrote the dedication to the Countess of Northumberland for the first edition of Percy's *Reliques* as well as some other unspecified dedication for Sir Joshua Reynolds, which is to be treated of 'afterwards'. (This was the dedication to the King of the collected edition of the first seven *Discourses*. Boswell meant to introduce it under its proper date, 1778.) Writing to Malone on 29 Jan. 1791 (*Letters*, ii. 417), Boswell says that Sir Joshua had requested the cancel, and although he says nothing at this point about Percy, he may also have had a remonstrance from him as well. In the revised text, Boswell omitted mention of Reynolds and Percy, and reduced the passage to a mere general statement as to Johnson's knack at dedications. By oversight however, the index, which was already made up for the first volume, was not altered, and contains the tell-tale reference, 'Percy, Dr.,

his "Reliques of Ancient Poetry", i. 272'. Percy thought Boswell had done this on purpose in order to give a clue to the cancelled passage, and Malone's services as mediator had to be enlisted. The letter which he wrote to the Bishop (now preserved in the Bodleian) fortunately gives us the name of the man who made the index—'Mr. Tomlins'. (See R. W. Chapman, 'Boswell's Proof-Sheets', *London Mercury*, xv. 178 ff. Professor Tinker also gives the text of the cancelled passage, *Letters*, ii. 417 n.) It was, of course, these dedications to which Boswell referred at the end of his catalogue of Johnson's *Works* (2nd ed., i. *xxxi, Hill, i. 24), when he said that his list included all Johnson's works which he had been able to discover or was 'at liberty to mention'; a phrase which troubled Mr. Croker. In most copies the cancels (which were probably printed together) can be detected by the presence of the stubs of the original leaves; in some copies these do not appear, but M m_4 bears a signature in brackets (a sure sign of a cancel in this work), and, as the cancelled passage included nine lines at the top of p. 273, N n_1 must be a cancel in all copies which present a continuous text. No copy showing either of these leaves in the original state has ever been reported. At least one leaf appears in two 'states'. P. 135, l. 10, second word, reads in some copies 'give'; in others 'gve'. Of the four copies in the British Museum, two have one reading and two the other. There can be little doubt that 'gve' is the earlier state. The first proof shows the word correctly spelled, but the lines are punctuated as follows:

> 'Short, O short! then be thy reign,
> And give us to the world again.'

Boswell passed this in the proof, but in the revise (both proof and revise are in the possession of Mr. Adam) he directed the printer to remove the exclamation point in the first line and substitute it for the period at the end of the second, which is in fact the punctuation of the printed text. When the changes were made the 'i' dropped out, and the printer, not noticing what had happened, filled up the line by inserting a space between 'gve' and 'us'. After a considerable part of the edition had been printed, the error was discovered and corrected in the press. The booksellers have given this rather uninteresting 'point' more attention than it deserves. There are probably varying states of some of the other leaves, but because the work is so large I have been unable to collate the entire text in several copies. I will report, however,

certain suspicious misprints which are of the sort that one would expect to have found corrected in the press. For most of these I am indebted to the research of Mr. John T. Snyder, of Pelham Manor, New York.

1. There are several puzzling entries in the list of errata as they now stand. We are requested to '*dele* out, p. 80, l. 13'. There is at that reference no such word in any copy I have examined. The word 'out' occurs only once on the page: l. 18, 'they were pointed out to me by Sir William Musgrave', which remains unchanged in the second and all subsequent editions. It is possible, however, that an extra word 'out' was discovered and deleted in l. 13 while the sheet was printing, the erratum being noted for the benefit of those readers whose copy had the uncorrected sheet. (The sixth erratum of the first edition of the *Tour to the Hebrides* is a case in point.) It is much more probable, however, that the reference is misprinted. There are certainly mistakes in the line numbers given for the eighth, ninth, and thirteenth errata. It looks very much as though Boswell compiled his list of corrections, not from the printed sheets, but from the page-proofs, in which the line-numbering differs, sometimes considerably, from that of the final text.

2. p. 48, l. 8 from bottom, 'upon' repeated.

3. p. 115, l. 8 from bottom, 'reollection'.

4. p. 117, l. 2 from bottom, 'exhihited'.

5. p. 275, l. 2 from bottom, 'condescente'.

6. p. 291, l. 9 from bottom, 'Harvey'. (The name is spelled 'Hervey' six times on this same page. However, Boswell's notes for this passage, which still survive, show exactly the same disregard for consistency. See *Boswell's Note-Book*, 1925, p. 15.)

These misprints occur in all the copies I have examined, and none of them is mentioned in the errata.

The first volume bears as a frontispiece a fine stipple-engraving by James Heath, dated 10 April 1791, from the portrait of Johnson painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1756, and owned by Boswell. (It now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery beside Sir Joshua's portrait of Boswell.) The engraving was submitted to Sir Joshua, who thought it 'too young and not thoughtful enough'. Heath retouched the plate to Sir Joshua's satisfaction, and then added a few more touches to please himself. Proofs of the first two states of the plate, with notes by Boswell, are owned by Mr. Adam, and are reproduced in his *Catalogue* and Professor Tinker's *Dr. Johnson*

and Fanny Burney, p. 208; the earlier states were, of course, never published.

The book was issued without a half-title.

Collation, Volume II:—Quarto, pp. ii + 586 (*sic*; the last page is wrongly numbered 588), consisting of: Title-page, printed from the same types as that of the first volume, but with 'Volume the Second' substituted for 'Volume the First' (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Text of the *Life*, &c., pp. [1]–[586] (wrongly numbered 588). The headlines, pagination, catch-words, &c., are uniform with the first volume. An unusually large number of pages is misnumbered. P. 229 appears as 289, 408 as 404, 497 as 504, 504 as 470, 555 as 525, 585 as 587, 586 as 588. The signatures are B to 4 E (seventy-three sheets, each 4 leaves) followed by 4 F, one leaf, and preceded by [A], one leaf, carrying the Title-page. (The Title-page was printed in the same sheet with the *Advertisement*; 4 F is probably the missing fourth leaf. See the collation of vol. I.) There are five cancelled leaves in this volume, as follows: 1. E_3 (pp. 29–30). The leaf bears a bracketed signature, and some copies show the stub of the original leaf, an observation which applies equally to the other cancels mentioned below. Cancellation here is furthermore proved by the presence of press-numbers on pp. 26 and 30, which in a normal printing would be in the same forme. The cancel made extensive alterations in the account of Dr. Grainger. In the original version, Johnson says that Percy was angry at him for laughing at *Sugar Cane*; that he helped Percy with a review of it for the *London Chronicle*, but that he was only in jest, while Percy was in earnest. Then follows a biographical sketch of Grainger, telling of his trip to the West Indies as companion to a wealthy native, his marrying and deserting his patron, and his failure as a physician at St. Christopher's. In the cancel, Johnson's remarks are considerably softened, the account of Grainger's matrimonial adventure is entirely omitted, and the story of his disastrous attempt to practise medicine condensed and given in a different place on the page as 'the singular history of an ingenious acquaintance in one of the Leeward Islands'. Moreover, a long note by Percy defending *The Sugar Cane* and its author is added on p. 29. Although Boswell's letters tell us nothing about the reasons for this cancel, the note by Percy seems to indicate that the page had been submitted to him and cancelled at his request. Besides this note, the cancel page also adds a sentence which has no reference to Grainger, but

was clearly intended to mollify Percy. (See R. W. Chapman, op. cit., pp. 179–80.) In his second edition, Boswell restored, either in the notes or the text, practically everything he had said in his original version, but retained Percy's note, and suffered Grainger to remain merely 'an ingenious acquaintance' in that paragraph which presents the story of his life.

2. $O o_4$ (pp. 287–8). The original text identified (p. 288) 'Lord —— ——', whose cook shot himself, as 'Lord Charles Spencer', 'Mr. ——', who loved buttered muffins and ate three before committing suicide, as 'Mr. Delmis', and the gentleman who sat with Johnson and Beauclerk after they had made up their quarrel as George Steevens.

3. $Q q_3$ (pp. 301–2). This leaf was cancelled to remove on p. 302 some remarks on conjugal infidelity even more indiscreet than those allowed to stand. The tenor of the text may be sufficiently indicated by Boswell's note to Malone on the subject: 'I must have a cancelled leaf in Vol. II of that passage where there is a conversation as to conjugal infidelity on the husband's side, and his wife saying she did not care how many women he went to, if he *loved* her alone; with my proposing to mark in a pocket-book every time a wife *refuses*, &c., &c. I wonder how you and I admitted this to the publick eye, for Windham &c. were struck with its *indelicacy*, and it might hurt the book much. It is, however, mighty good stuff' (*Letters*, ii. 422).

4. Zz_1 (pp. 353–4). The original text (p. 353) gave William Gerard Hamilton as the source of Boswell's information concerning Warburton's and Johnson's opinion of each other. See Boswell's note under (5). The text was generalized to read 'I am well informed, that, &c.'. 'Johnson's further remark in praise of Warburton, made to George Strahan, first appears in the cancel' (R. W. Chapman, op. cit., p. 180).

5. $E ee_2$ (pp. 395–6). Professor Tinker (*Letters*, ii. 424 n. 1) prints the original text, which attributes the second paragraph on p. 396 to William Gerard Hamilton, and fills the blank in the next paragraph with his name. Writing to Malone on 25 Feb. 1791, Boswell says, 'But I shall have more cancels. That *nervous* mortal W. G. H. is not satisfied with my report of some particulars *which I wrote down from his own mouth*, and is so much agitated that Courtenay has persuaded me to allow a *new edition* of them by H. himself to be made at H's expense' (*Letters*, ii. 424). This probably refers to p. 353 as well as 396. In the third edition (iv. 114),

Hamilton having died in 1796, Malone gave the reader in a note the name with which to fill the blank.

I add, besides the misnumbered pages, the following typographical errors in the second volume, some of which may have been corrected in the press, thus making two states for the leaf in question :

1. p. 78, l. 23, 'painted' for 'printed'.
2. p. 92, l. 6, 'MDCCLXXXIV' for 'MDCCLXXIV'.
3. p. 275, l. 12 from bottom, 'Wlliam'.
4. p. 352, l. 11, 'us' omitted before 'enquire'.
5. Ibid., l. 17, the errata wrongly refer to the last word as 'imposition'.
6. p. 562, l. 3 from bottom. The erratum is quite incomprehensible. We are directed to insert a dash after 'tongue', and prefix [inverted] commas to the following word ('Annexed'). However, in the second edition the passage is left unchanged, except that 'mother-tongue' is hyphenated.

The second volume of the *Life* has two plates, both engraved by H. Shepherd and dated 10 April 1791 ; the first, facing p. 92, of the Round Robin addressed to Johnson on the subject of Goldsmith's epitaph ; the second, dated 10 April 1791, facing the last page giving facsimiles of the Doctor's handwriting at different ages.

This volume, like the first, was issued without a half-title.

The *Life of Johnson* was issued in blue-grey boards for two guineas. I have seen a copy in this condition (rebacked) in the possession of Colonel Isham. The leaves of an entirely uncut copy measure about $11\frac{13}{16}$ by 9 inches. There are several interesting presentation copies of the *Life* : Warren Hastings's copy is in the New York Public Library, Sir William Scott's in the possession of Professor Tinker ; A. Edward Newton has James Boswell the younger's, and Colonel Isham the famous Wilkes copy. This contains the inscription, 'To John Wilkes Esq: | from his much obliged friend | The Authour. | Nil ego contulerim jocundo sanus amico.' Wilkes has carefully made all the changes listed in the errata, and has added in the index references to all the places where he is mentioned. The book, though expensive, is by no means rare, as 1750 copies were issued, practically all of which must still be in existence. See the general notes following no. 82.

80. *Dublin Edition.* 1792

As each of the volumes shows variations in the title-page, it is necessary to describe each separately.

Vol. I. This follows the first edition with the following exceptions: 'Literature and | literary', 'Great Britain', 'half a | Century', 'In Three Volumes'; Imprint, 'Dublin: | Printed by John Chambers, | for R. Cross, W. Wilson, P. Byrne, A. Grueber, J. Moore, | J. Jones, W. M'kenzie, W. Jones, R. M'Allister, | R. White, J. Rice, and G. Draper. | [*Short rule*] | M,DCC,XCII.'

Vol. II follows Vol. I (with variations in the size of the type), but has 'Great-Britain', 'Volume the Second', and the imprint, 'Dublin: | Printed by John Exshaw', the remainder as in the first volume, except that a period follows 'M'Kenzie', and periods are used instead of commas in dividing the date.

Vol. III follows Vol. II very closely, but proves upon careful measurement to have been printed from different type. The differences are 'Volume the Third', and in the imprint, 'Printed by Robert Rhames'.

Collation:—Octavo, 3 vols., as follows: Vol. I, pp. xxxiv + 536; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; *Dedication to Sir Joshua Reynolds*, pp. [iii]–vi; *Advertisement*, pp. [vii]–x; *Alphabetical Table of Contents*, &c., pp. [xi]–xxxiv; Text of the *Life*, &c., pp. [1]–536. There is a running headline, *The Life of Dr. Johnson*, the pages being numbered in arabic numerals. P. 257 is wrongly numbered 725. The signatures are B to Ll (thirty-three sheets, each 8 leaves), plus Mm (one half-sheet of 4 leaves), preceded by [a], one leaf, carrying the title-page, b and c (two sheets, each 8 leaves), carrying the rest of the introductory matter. The book was issued without a half-title. A folded facsimile of the Round Robin, without name of engraver or date, takes the place of the frontispiece.

Vol. II, pp. ii + 605: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Text of the *Life*, &c., pp. [1]–605. The make-up is similar to that of the first volume, but it is quite evident that the two came from different presses. P. 159 appears in some copies as 15, 160 is inverted, 325 is numbered 225. The signatures are B to Pp (thirty-seven sheets, each 8 leaves), followed by Qq (7 leaves), and preceded by [A], one leaf, carrying the title-page. The volume was issued without a half-title.

Vol. III, pp. ii + 573 ; consisting of : Title-page as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i-ii] ; Text of the *Life*, &c., pp. [1]–573. P. 524 in some copies appears as 4, and p. 557 as 57. The remarks on the make-up of the second volume apply also to this. The signatures are B to Nn (forty sheets, each 8 leaves), followed by Oo (7 leaves), and preceded by [A], one leaf, carrying the title-page. At the end appears the folding-plate of facsimiles of Johnson's handwriting. The volume was issued without a half-title.

This edition is a close reprint of the first, made from a copy with all the cancels. The errata have all been carefully incorporated in the text, with the exception of those two noted above as incomprehensible, and all the misprints I have mentioned have been corrected, except 'condescente' (candescente), 'painted' (printed), 'MDCCLXXXIV' (MDCCLXXIV). Many more typographical errors, however, have been introduced.

I have seen it stated in at least one dealer's catalogue that 'two editions with varying imprints were published in Dublin in 1792'. This, I believe, is a mistake, arising out of the varying imprints of the three volumes of this one edition. I have, however, given a full collation in order to make it easy to detect the other edition, if it exists.

I have no information as to the price or original binding of this edition. It was cheaply and rather poorly printed, evidently to undersell the genuine edition, which must, however, have been nearly, if not quite, exhausted when it appeared. It is now listed by the booksellers as 'very rare', which is perhaps justified, as there is no copy in the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the National Library of Scotland. The leaves of the copy in the library of Yale University (which have been trimmed) measure $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. (See the general notes following no. 82.)

81. *Second Edition.* 1793

Title as in first edition, but with colon after 'published' (the second and third volumes have a period); 'Literature and | literary'; 'near | half'; 'he | flourished. | In three Volumes. | The Second Edition, revised and augmented. . . . Volume the First [Second, Third].' The date is MDCCXCIII with a short rule above it.

Collation :—Octavo, 3 vols., as follows: Vol. I, 41 leaves of preliminary matter, variously paged as below, + pp. 603 ; consist-

ing of: Title-page as above (with blank reverse), on preliminary unpaged leaf; *Dedication*, &c., pp. [i]–vi; *Advertisement to the First Edition*, pp. [vii]–xii; *Advertisement to the Second Edition*, pp. [xiii]–xviii; *Additions to Johnson's Life, re-collected, and received after the Second Edition was printed*, pp. [*i]–*xxii (p. *xiv misnumbered *ix); *A Chronological Catalogue of the Prose Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (it should be noted that this interesting bibliography first appears in this edition), pp. [*xxiii]–*xxxi (with blank reverse; p. *xxiv is wrongly numbered *xxv, and *xxv, *xxvi); *Corrections*, pp. *xxxiii–*xxxvi; *Additional Corrections* (with blank reverse), p. [*xxxvii] (actually numbered *xxxviii, with the page number on the inner margin); *Alphabetical Table of Contents* (that of the first edition, somewhat enlarged), pp. [xvii]–xxxix (actually so numbered); motto from *Henry VIII* and note from Johnson's letter to Mrs. Thrale, p. [xl]; Text of the *Life*, &c., pp. [1]–603. There are headlines throughout, the verso reading *The Life of*, and the recto *Dr. Johnson*. The pages are numbered in arabic numerals. P. 254 in some copies appears as 54. The vagaries in the pagination of the preliminary matter were the result of extensive insertions after the book was entirely printed and ready for the binder. The pages originally stood as follows: one unsigned leaf carrying the Title-page; a (8 leaves, pp. [i]–xvi), carrying *Dedication*, *Advertisement to the First Edition*, and *Advertisement to the Second Edition*; b (8 leaves, pp. [xvii]–xxxii) and c (4 leaves, pp. xxxiii–[xl]), carrying the *Alphabetical Table of Contents* and the Motto from Shakespeare. Boswell then decided to expand his Advertisement to this edition, which of course he could not do without upsetting the pagination. He cancelled the eighth leaf of a (pp. xv–xvi), and added a new signature, also signed a, of two leaves, running the Advertisement over to p. xviii. I fancy the original advertisement ended either with 'Quid virtus', &c., or the anecdote of the Duke of Marlborough. What follows in the present text consists wholly of those passages in which Boswell disclaims all intention of speaking of his 'literary fame in a decorous style'. As the Table of Contents was already printed, there were now two duplicated page-numbers, xvii and xviii. Somewhat later (since it is not made a part of the new signature a) Boswell decided to insert a large amount of new material which had come into his hands, and, instead of putting it in the customary place at the end of the prefatory matter, with continuous pagination, he adopted the awkward scheme of placing it after his new signature a, probably

in order to conceal the duplication of page-numbers xvii and xviii. Accordingly he added *a (8 leaves, pp. [*i]-*xvi), and *b (8 leaves, pp. *xvii–*xxxi). Still later he added an afterthought, *c (2 leaves, pp. *xxxiii–*xxxvi), carrying the *Corrections*, and finally a last afterthought, $*c_3$ (one leaf, numbered *xxxviii, though the arrangement calls for *xxxvii) of *Additional Corrections*. That $*c_3$ was separately printed and is not a part of *c is clearly shown by the chain-lines, the absence of a catch-word on p. *xxxvi, and the fact that it is often missing from copies that have $*c_1$ and $*c_2$. We thus have preserved in this confused arrangement the original scheme and four successive stages of revision. The insertions were hastily and inaccurately printed, with consequent mistakes in the pagination, as noted above. c_3 is interesting; it was carelessly set up as a verso, though it bears a signature mark. The signatures as they now stand are B to Pp (forty-two sheets, each 8 leaves) plus Qq (6 leaves), preceded by one unsigned leaf carrying the Title-page, a (7 leaves), a second a (one quarter-sheet, 2 leaves), *a and *b (two sheets, each 8 leaves), *c (3 leaves); b (one sheet, 8 leaves), and c (one half-sheet, 4 leaves), carrying the rest of the preliminary matter. The frontispiece (distinctly inferior to that of the first edition) is a line engraving by J. Baker from Sir Joshua's portrait of 1756 (or, more probably, from Heath's engraving of it), and bears the date 3 April 1793. None of the volumes in this edition had a half-title.

Vol. II, pp. ii + 634; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Text of the *Life*, &c., pp. [1]–634. The signatures are B to Qq (forty-three sheets, each 8 leaves), followed by Rr (1 leaf), Ss (one sheet, 8 leaves), Tt (one half-sheet, 4 leaves), and preceded by [A], one leaf, carrying the Title-page. The volume apparently originally ended with Rr_2 (p. 612), but Boswell, having obtained thirteen letters from Johnson to Bennet Langton and one from Johnson to the Earl of Bute too late to insert them in their proper places, added them at the end, with a prefatory note explaining the arrangement. At the same time he cancelled Rr_2 and reprinted pp. 611–12 on the first leaf of his new signature Ss; probably in order to add on p. 611 the long note by Malone defending the sense of a controverted passage in Parnell's *Hermit*. This note bears the reference number 6, but appears between 4 and 5. (In later editions it was shifted to another position, under date of 3 May 1779.) The catch-word at the bottom of Rr_1 verso (p. 610) is 'and'; whereas the first word on Ss_1 (p. 611)

is 'I'. Unless Boswell intended, however, to alter the reading of one of his own letters to Johnson, which forms the text at this point, 'and' cannot have been right. (The cancel, of course, may have been made to set right some actual mistake, of which this wrong catch-word is a survival.) Pages 177–209 are wrongly numbered 187–219, p. 444 appears as 445, and 533 in some copies as 53. The folding-plate, giving a facsimile of the Round Robin, engraved by H. Shepherd and dated 10 April 1793, faces p. 450.

Vol. III, pp. ii + 711, consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Text of the *Life*, &c., pp. [1]–711. The signatures are B to Yy (forty-nine sheets, each 8 leaves), followed by Zz (one half-sheet, 4 leaves), and preceded by [A], one leaf, bearing the Title-page. The numeral on p. 86 is inverted, p. 290 is misnumbered 291, pp. 127 and 459 (at least in some copies) are unnumbered, and 219, 315, and 408 appear as 21, 31, and 08. The folding-plate of facsimiles of Johnson's handwriting at different ages, engraved by H. Shepherd and dated 10 April 1793, appears at the end. There is an imprint on p. 711: 'From the Press of Henry Baldwin; | March 20, 1793.'

Issued in blue-grey boards for £1 4*s*. The leaves of an uncut copy in this state in the Adam collection measure 9 by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The book is not rare, but is less commonly met with in public libraries than the first edition. See the general notes following no. 82.

82. *Third Edition.* 1799

The Title follows that of the first volume of the Second Edition to 'flourished'. (The second, third, and fourth volumes have a comma after 'studies'.) Then, 'By James Boswell, Esq. | [*Motto as in previous editions*] | The Third Edition, Revised and Augmented, | in Four Volumes. | [*Short double rules*] | Volume the First [Second, Third, Fourth]. | [*Short double rules*] | London: | Printed by H. Baldwin and Son, | for | Charles Dilly, in the Poultry. | [*Short rule*] | MDCCXCIX.'

Collation:—Octavo, four volumes, as follows: Vol. I, 1 p. l. + pp. xxxii + 452, consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), on preliminary unpaged leaf; *Dedication*, &c., pp. [i]–vi; *Advertisement to the First Edition*, pp. [vii]–xi (with blank reverse); *Advertisement to the Second Edition*, pp. [xiii]–xvii (with blank reverse); *Advertisement to the Third Edition*, dated 8 April 1799, pp. [xix]–

xxi (with blank reverse); *A Chronological Catalogue*, &c., pp. [xxiii]–xxxi; Mottoes and Errata, p. [xxxii]; Text of the *Life*, &c., pp. [1]–452. The headlines are as in the second edition, but there are no catch-words, and the dates are shifted to the top of the page. The signatures are B to Ff (twenty-eight sheets, each 8 leaves), followed by Gg (one quarter-sheet, 2 leaves), and preceded by one unsigned leaf bearing the Title-page, a, and b (two sheets, each 8 leaves). The frontispiece is printed from the same plate as that of the second edition.

Vol. II, pp. ii + 490; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Text of the *Life*, &c., pp. [1]–490. The signatures are B to Hh (thirty sheets, each 8 leaves), followed by Ii (one half-sheet, 4 leaves), Kk (one leaf), and preceded by [A], one leaf, carrying the Title-page.

Vol. III, pp. ii + 475; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Text of the *Life*, &c., pp. [1]–475. The signatures are B to Gg (twenty-nine sheets, each 8 leaves), followed by Hh (six leaves), and preceded by [A], one leaf, carrying the Title-page. The folding facsimile of the Round Robin faces p. 84, and is from the same plate as that in the second edition.

Vol. IV, pp. ii + 514, consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Text of the *Life*, &c., pp. [1]–460; *Appendix*, pp. [461]–466; *Index*, pp. [467]–514. The signatures are B to Kk (thirty-two sheets, each 8 leaves), followed by Ll (one leaf), and preceded by [A], one leaf, bearing the Title-page. The folding-plate giving facsimiles of Johnson's handwriting faces p. 460, and is the same as that in the second edition.

Issued for £1 8*s*. in boards. It is not rare, but is seldom found in public libraries. The leaves of the copy in the library of Yale University, rebound and rather severely trimmed, measure $8\frac{5}{16}$ by $5\frac{1}{16}$ inches. The British Museum and Yale University have, besides the first and second editions, copies of all those edited by Malone, viz. the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth.

General Notes on the Life of Johnson

When Boswell first definitely formed the project of writing Johnson's life, it is perhaps impossible to determine. He says, however, on the very first page of his book, that he 'had the scheme of writing his life constantly in view' during the whole of the twenty years that

he was privileged to know him. *The Account of Corsica* must have diverted him for a time, but that he never lost sight of the greater work we learn from his asking Johnson in May 1768 (only three months after *Corsica* appeared) for consent to publish his letters after his death (*Life*, ii. 60). On 31 Mar. 1772 he secured, with Johnson's approval, particulars concerning his early life; on 11 April 1773 he asked for more, and recorded Johnson's approving reference to the projected biography (*Life*, ii. 166, 217). On 6 Nov. 1775 he speaks of the material which he had hoped to publish as a supplement to *Johnson's Journey* as 'good materials for my *Life of Dr. Johnson*' (*Letters*, i. 246). His one note-book of materials for the *Life* at present published shows him busily collecting anecdotes from Johnson at Lichfield in March 1776, and at Ashbourne a year and a half later (see Mr. Chapman's preface to *Boswell's Note Book*, *1776–7*). On 30 Aug. 1776 he wrote to Mrs. Thrale begging her to transmit to him sometimes a few of Johnson's 'admirable sayings' (*Letters*, i. 255), a request which he renewed 9 July 1782: 'Anecdotes of our literary or gay freinds, but particularly of our illustrious Imlac, would delight me' (*Letters*, ii. 313). In *The Hypochondriack*, No. LXVI, 'On Diaries', published in the *London Magazine* for March 1783, he reveals that, although he had not written a word of his actual *Life*, he had already selected the motto; 'I shall . . . inscribe upon a chest containing my journal,

Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella Vita Senis'.

(The essay, indeed, contains a characteristic and ingenious interpretation of this passage, on which its applicability as a motto depends.)

On Johnson's death, Boswell began at once to be mentioned as the person best fitted to write the definitive biography, and great dissatisfaction was expressed in the newspapers with the booksellers' choice of Hawkins as the official biographer. Some time early in January 1785 an anonymous letter appeared in the *St. James's Chronicle*, reflecting on the faults of Tyers's sketch, and pointing out Boswell's unique qualifications. Boswell was apparently suspected of having written it himself, for on 18 Jan. he wrote a reply from Edinburgh, denying any connexion with it, and begging the author to reveal himself 'by a private note' in order that he might 'be further indebted to him for his advice in the progress of his labours'. The anonymous correspondent, who says that his 'intimacy with Dr. Johnson continued without interruption . . . through upwards of nineteen years', was almost certainly Malone, and it was probably

through this interchange of compliments that there came about that close association of the two which proved of so great advantage to Boswell in writing both the *Tour* and the *Life*. (Both these letters are reprinted in *Lond. Mag.*, April 1785, n.s. iv. 247–9.)

Even while printing the *Tour* Boswell managed to keep the *Life* in mind. In March 1785, just before the *Tour* went to press, he wrote to Percy begging for materials for the *Life* (*Letters*, ii. 326). The *Life* was also advertised at the end of the *Tour* as 'preparing for the press, in one volume quarto'; it was to be based on materials which the author had been collecting 'for more than twenty years'.

The records concerning his work between 1785 and 1789 are meagre. One thing is clear: that, while steadily getting his materials into shape, he had resolved not to begin the actual composition of his book until the works of Hawkins and Mrs. Piozzi had appeared. The newspapers during these years teem with paragraphs chiding him for his slowness. (A great many of these are preserved in Samuel Lysons's collection of Johnsonian cuttings. See *post*, p. 265.) In consequence he inserted the following advertisement in the papers:—

'The Publick are respectfully informed, that Mr. Boswell's LIFE of Dr. JOHNSON is in great Forwardness. The Reason of its having been delayed is, that some other Publications on that Subject were promised, from which he expected to obtain much Information, in Addition to the large Store of Materials which he had already accumulated. These Works have now made their Appearance; and, though disappointed in that Expectation, he does not regret the Deliberation with which he has proceeded, as very few circumstances relative to the History of Dr. Johnson's private Life, Writings, or Conversation, have been told with that authentick Precision which alone can render Biography valuable. To correct these erroneous Accounts will be one of his principal Objects; and on reviewing his Materials, he is happy to find that he has Documents in his Possession, which will enable him to do Justice to the Character of his illustrious Friend. He trusts that in the mean Time the Publick will not permit unfavourable Impressions to be made on their minds, whether by the light Effusions of Carelessness and Pique, or the ponderous Labours of solemn Inaccuracy and dark uncharitable Conjecture. London, May, 1787.' (From Lysons's collection of press-cuttings, which preserves neither the name of the paper nor the date of publication. It was pretty clearly, however, like the majority of his cuttings, from the *St. James's Chronicle*.)

On 5 Dec. 1788 James Boswell, Jr., writes from London to his mother that 'Papa is continuing to write his life of the great Dr. Johnson [corrected from 'Jonstone'] and hopes to have it done by Christmas' (unpublished letter in the Isham collection). It appears, however, that what Boswell had so nearly finished was only a first draft. His invaluable letters to Temple and Malone enable us to follow very closely the progress of his work. On 10 Jan. 1789 (*Letters*, ii. 354) he writes that he has almost completed the rough draft ('by which I mean the work without nice correction'), and has actually composed the Introduction and Dedication—the two parts of the book that any ordinary mortal would have written last. ('La dernière chose qu'on trouve, en faisant un ouvrage, est de savoir celle qu'il faut mettre la première.') His plan then was, after finishing the rough draft, to write out one half perfectly, with Malone's help, and go to press. At that date he hoped to have the book out by the end of May (1789). Colonel Isham found among the Malahide papers sixteen quarto leaves of a manuscript of the *Life of Johnson* entirely in Boswell's hand. The rest of the manuscript had perished through damp and neglect; some of these leaves (which are not entirely consecutive) have holes in them, and all are in so crumbling a condition that it has been necessary to mount them with gauze. They measure $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and are numbered by Boswell himself 503–13, 529–30, 533, 538, 553, and correspond to pp. 18–24, 32–4, 34–5, 37–8, 45 of the second volume of the first edition. (Hill, ii. 432–43, 458–61, 462–3, 466–7; iii. 3–4.) They are written rapidly and carelessly, with narrow margins, interlinear corrections, and occasional additions on the backs. I have not been able to collate them with the printed text, but such brief portions as I have copied to indicate the beginnings and ends of pages show considerable variations from the final version. I conclude therefore that these were not a part of the manuscript actually sent to the printer, but of the rough draft.

Boswell was sadly distracted by the illness and death of his wife in June, and his unfortunate political embroilments with Lord Lonsdale. Yet he managed to do an amazing amount of work. On 8 Feb. 1790 (*Letters*, ii. 388–9) he wrote to Temple that the book was actually in the press, although he and Malone had not yet gone over half the copy, as they had planned; the material had grown so much that he had adopted a smaller type than he had originally intended to use, and even then the book was expected to run to 800 pages quarto. (It was soon decided that two volumes would be necessary.) He hoped to be done by August (1790). On 12 Mar. 1790 (*Letters*, ii. 391)

he informed Percy that one hundred pages of the book were in print. A month later he wrote to Langton that twenty sheets (160 pages) were printed, and that he had been offered (by Robinson the publisher) one thousand pounds for the copyright (*Letters*, ii. 393). He was still immersed in politics, but the shock he received from the exposure of Lonsdale's brutality in June seems to have made him at last devote most of his energies to his book. By 30 Sept. the first volume was in print, and he was promising copy for the fifth sheet (pp. 33 ff.) of the second (R. W. Chapman, 'Boswell's Proof-Sheets', *London Mercury*, xv. 54). On 4 Dec. 1790 (*Letters*, ii. 405) he had before him in print p. 216 of the second volume; i.e. in the preceding eight months he had put nearly 600 quarto pages through the press, or upwards of four times what he had previously accomplished. His notes in the revises for the period show him impatient for greater dispatch (Chapman, op. cit., p. 55). Malone had now left him for a visit to Ireland, and he was thus deprived of counsel and assistance by which he had been greatly encouraged. By 16 Dec. he had printed fifty pages more, and hoped to have the book out on Shrove Tuesday (8 Mar.). On 18 Jan. 1791 (*Letters*, ii. 414) he was printing p. 376, but estimated that he still had more than two hundred pages of copy left. He felt Malone's loss keenly, and was so discouraged by his financial embarrassments that he was tempted to accept the offer of £1,000. On 29 Jan. (*Letters*, ii. 416) he was at p. 456; one hundred pages more of copy besides the 'Death', which was still to be written. It was clear that the second volume would, with the Index, be nearly one hundred pages longer than the first; some one at the press had suggested that he thicken the first volume by *prefixing* the Index. This ingenious but unusual arrangement was actually followed, and preserved, for no apparent reason, in the second edition. He had agreed on the cancel in the first volume at the suit of Sir Joshua. On 10 Feb. (*Letters*, ii. 422) he had reached p. 488; the 'Death' apparently written, but the Conclusion undetermined on. He had also decided to cancel Vol. II Qq_8.

On the 25th of the same month (*Letters*, ii. 423–4) he announced that he had four or five sheets yet to print; the second volume, he thought, would amount to 575 pages (actually 586). He had consented to cancel the pages relating to W. G. Hamilton, and was much distressed by fear that the book would be a financial failure. 'I believe, in my present frame, I should accept even of £500; for I suspect that were I now to talk to Robinson, I should find him not disposed to give £1000.' On 4 Mar. he wrote on the revise for

p. 537, 'I hope by Monday [7 Mar.] to have *All the remaining copy in the Printing House*. If possible let us be *out* this month. Pray let Mr. Stuart find out and inform me exactly where the engraver lives, who cut the crest for the title-page of my Tour' (Chapman, op. cit., p. 56). On 8 Mar. (the day on which he had once hoped to publish) he discussed the wording of the title-page: the book could not be out for a month. He had been encouraged by the sum which Murphy had just received for his *Essay on Johnson*, and was resolved to keep the property of his book. On 12 Mar. (*Letters*, ii. 429) he hoped to be out by 15 April. I find in the *London Chronicle* for 17 Mar. (lxix. 262) the statement, 'Mr. Boswell's Life of Johnson is positively finished, and the day of publication will be announced in the course of the present week'. On 19 Mar. (*ibid.*, 268) the first advertisement actually appeared: 'Next month will be published, In two volumes large quarto, Price two guineas in Boards, (Dedicated to Sir Joshua Reynolds,) The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. . . . including his celebrated Letter to the Earl of Chesterfield. . . . By James Boswell, Esq. . . . The extraordinary zeal which has been shown by distinguished persons in all parts of the kingdom, in supplying additional information, authentic manuscripts, and singular Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson, has occasioned such an enlargement of this work, that it has been unavoidably delayed much longer than was intended.'

On 31 Mar. (*ibid.*, p. 312) the advertisement was repeated; the book to be published 'in a few days', 'illustrated with the following plates: Dr. Johnson, by Heath, from the large Picture painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1756, being the first, and never before published; Fac-Similes of his Hand-writing at different periods; and a Round Robin addressed to him concerning his Epitaph on Dr. Goldsmith.' These plates, as the dates on them show, were not yet finished, nor indeed was the book itself completed.

On 2 April (*Letters*, ii. 432) Boswell writes that he is correcting the last sheet, has still to write the Advertisement (which is dated 20 April), make out a note of Errata, and correct the second sheet of the Contents. (The Errata were printed on the last page of this sheet.) He hoped to publish on the 25th. He had been giving more time than he should have to *No Abolition of Slavery*. On 19 April (*Letters*, ii. 435) he wrote to George Dempster that his *Magnum Opus* would be published on Monday, 16 May, a date he seems deliberately to have chosen because it was the anniversary of his first meeting with Johnson. This somewhat superstitious regard for favourable omens is highly characteristic of Boswell. The Dedication

to the first edition of *Corsica* and the Advertisement to the third are dated on his birthday, and he seems to have first selected Shrove Tuesday as the day of publication because he fancied something auspicious in that date. ('Wits are game cocks,' he quotes: a line I have been unable to locate. *Letters*, ii. 410.) On 30 April (p. 413) the *London Chronicle* announced 16 May as the day of publication, repeating the advertisement of 31 Mar., with the added advertisement of the reissue of the *Tour to the Hebrides*. (See *ante*, p. 122.) I find this same advertisement repeated on 7 May (p. 437), after which it disappears. We have no letters of Boswell's between 19 April and 15 June.

Boswell must have been greatly cheered by the rapid sale of the book. Lady Strange (Sir Alexander Dick's cousin—see *Letters*, *passim*) wrote to Sir Robert, her husband, that Boswell in high glee had informed her that 800 sets had been sold in 'a week or two'. 'Well done,' she adds cautiously, 'if true!' (J. Dennistoun, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange*, ii. 239.) On 22 Aug. (*Letters*, ii. 439–40) Boswell wrote to Temple that 1,200 of the 1,700 sets printed were already sold, and that it was hoped the whole impression would be exhausted by Christmas. On the revise for the first sheet, he had written '1750 copies' (R. W. Chapman, 'Boswell's Proof-Sheets', *Lond. Merc.* xv. 52). '1700' here is probably only a round number. Mr. Chapman tells me that 1750 is a usual number, 1700 most unusual. According to Joseph Farington (who seems to have had very explicit information from Boswell's executors on the point) the first edition of the *Life* brought its author £1,550 (*Diary*, i. 95).

Boswell could have had no connexion with the Dublin edition, and was probably not so well pleased with it as he had been with the Irish editions of *Corsica* (*Letters*, i. 163). He had stood to lose nothing on that occasion, for he had sold his copyright to the Dillys. This case was different. He had printed the *Life* at his own expense, and had asked Malone to try to sell some copies to the Dublin booksellers (*Letters*, ii. 429). The Irish edition could not have cut into the sale of the first edition to any extent, but it must have injured the market for the second, which it preceded by a year.

The second edition of the *Life* went to press in the spring of 1792. On p. 602 of the first volume Boswell gives as a note a letter by Beattie, dated 3 May 1792, which he says he could not insert in the proper place because the passage to which it alluded (near the beginning of the second volume) was already printed, the first and

second volumes 'having, in order to supply the publick demand speedily, been put to the press at the same time' (i. 601 n.). On 11 June 1792 (*Letters*, ii. 443) he wrote to James Abercrombie of Philadelphia that the second edition was 'now in the press'. Abercrombie's communications appear at p. 136 of the second volume, in the proper year, but not in exact chronological sequence, which shows exactly how far the printing had progressed at that date. On 26 Feb. 1793 (*Letters*, ii. 446) Boswell tells Temple he is to return to London early in April in order to publish his second edition, for which he had 'lately received some more additions of great value'. Baldwin's colophon at the end of the third volume, dated 20 Mar. 1793, shows that the edition was in the press about a year. The plates, as has already been mentioned, are dated April 3 and 10. The book, however, did not appear for some months thereafter, probably because Boswell was printing his supplementary material. The Advertisement to this edition is not dated, but Malone, in the third, gives it the date 1 July 1793. The first announcement I have seen is in *Lond. Chron.* 11 July 1793 (lxxiv. 39):

'On Wednesday, July 17, will be published, in three large Vols. 8vo. Price 1l. 4s. in boards, The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. By James Boswell, Esq. The Second Edition, corrected, and considerably enlarged by additional Letters and interesting Anecdotes. . . . Illustrated with an engraved Portrait of Dr. Johnson, by Baker, after his first picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Fac-similes of his Hand-writing, and of that of various eminent Men of his time [i. e. the Round Robin]. Printed for Charles Dilly in the Poultry.☞ While no pains have been spared to improve this very popular work, the CORRECTIONS and ADDITIONS are printed separately in quarto, for the accommodation of the purchasers of the First Edition.'

On 24 July (one week after publication) Boswell sent Bennet Langton copies, with the information that 'above 400 copies of the new Johnsonian volumes are already sold. Wonderful man!' (*Letters*, ii. 449). Farington's information as to Boswell's profit on the second edition is not wholly clear: 'Boswell recd. £1550 for his Quarto edition of the life of Johnson from the Booksellers, which sum is to be made up £2000 on acct. of the Octavo edition.' Later, however, he says, 'Boswell in his lifetime made about £2500 by this work' (*Diary*, i. 95; iii. 52).

From the chaotic state of the text of the second edition it is quite evident that Boswell went to press with too little preparation. Apparently as soon as the *Life* was published he took a glorious

holiday, and did little toward revising for a second edition until the printer demanded the copy. When, however, he began to read the proofs, he became absorbed in the task again, and set himself enthusiastically to collecting new material, some of it of great importance, but most of it got together too late to be put in its proper place in the text. The result is a book painfully at variance with his own standards of ordered arrangement. Besides the material actually incorporated into the text out of its right chronological sequence (as Beattie's letter and Abercrombie's contributions), the second volume has a supplement of 21 pages, added after the book was printed, and the first has at the beginning 'Additions recollected and received after the second Edition was printed', the 'Chronological Catalogue of Johnson's Prose works', obviously an afterthought, added at the suggestion of a correspondent (*Letters*, ii. 451), 'Corrections' (mostly additions), 'Additional Corrections'—37 pages of miscellaneous Johnsoniana arranged in no particular order or sequence.

The text of the second edition, for that very reason, deserves a close study. Although we believe that the third represents the form in which Boswell would ultimately have arranged this supplementary material, we can never be sure of it, for this edition was the last actually published in his lifetime. There were also many pleasant and characteristic sentences introduced in this edition which naturally dropped out when the text was shaken together by Malone.

The third edition was advertised in the *Morning Chronicle* for 18 May 1799, as follows:—

'This day is published, in four volumes 8vo, price 1l. 8s. in boards, the 3d. Edit. (revised and augmented), of the Life of Sam. Johnson, LL.D. . . . By James Boswell, Esq. Printed for C. Dilly, in the Poultry. Of whom may be had, the third Edition, in 8vo, price 6s. in boards, the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Dr. Johnson, by James Boswell, Esq. . . . to which is prefixed a map of the Tour through Scotland and the Hebrides.'

Malone's Advertisement (Preface) is dated 8 April 1799.

This is now generally regarded as the definitive edition, though the sixth (Malone's last) is occasionally preferred. In his Advertisement, Malone says that at the time of his death Boswell was revising for a new edition; that he had indicated where some of the Addenda to the second edition were to be inserted, and had written out some new notes in the margin of his copy. Malone implies that his own editorial judgement has been exercised only in the incorporation of those materials for which Boswell had not assigned a place, and in

adding new notes. That this task called, however, for a great deal more than a mere mechanical distribution of the new matter under dates already indicated, may be seen by a glance at the Addenda themselves as they appear in Boswell's second edition, most of the new anecdotes there being entirely undated. Besides Malone's notes (unsigned), others were added by Dr. Charles Burney (signed, 'B'), the Rev. John Blakeway ('J. B.'), James Boswell, Junior ('J. B.—O.'), James Bindley, and (in the appendix) Dr. Michael Kearney ('K.'). It is a somewhat remarkable coincidence that of the seven persons, including the author, who wrote notes for this edition, *four* had the initials 'J. B.' 'Every new remark, not written by the Author, for the sake of distinction has been enclosed within crotchets.' The Index, now shifted to the end, has been somewhat enlarged. Even this edition does not achieve complete orderliness. There is at the end of the last volume an Appendix of five pages of notes which were written too late to appear at the proper places. In his Advertisement Malone disclaims responsibility for the typographical errors, on the ground that he had not read the proofs.

This edition was printed with better type and paper than the second, and, in its four slender volumes, presents a much better appearance than the second with its three bulky ones. Malone's editing was done with supreme tact and modesty. Much as we regret that Boswell was not able to see this edition through the press himself, it is impossible to imagine any other person who could have done it so well as Malone. I am aware that the integrity of his editorial supervision has been attacked. In the preface to his own edition of the *Life* (1874), Mr. Percy Fitzgerald charges Malone with having 'exceeded the privileges of his literary executorship, in converting notes into text and *vice versa*, in shifting the place of notes, and in "revising" the text itself.' There is happily no longer any need for conjecture on this important point. In preparing the new edition of Birkbeck Hill, Mr. L. F. Powell has made a complete collation of the first three editions, and assures me that nearly all the apparent changes of the third edition were really made by Boswell himself in the second. As for the rest, there is now no way of telling that they too were not among those manuscript corrections which we know he had prepared. Even if some of the changes were Malone's, we have every reason to suppose that Boswell would gratefully have acquiesced in them, as he did in revising the *Tour to the Hebrides*. (See Mr. Chapman's textual notes, *passim*.) If Malone is to be blamed, it is rather for shirking the duty of reading the proofs, and

thereby passing on the misprints of the second edition plus a considerable number of new ones.

Later Editions of the Life

In what follows I give condensed collations (with brief descriptive notes) of the more significant editions of the *Life* published since 1799. No attempt has been made to list all the so-called editions, most of which are mere trade reprints of no bibliographical importance. My descriptive notes are also necessarily of the most superficial character, as nothing short of a genuine *Variorum* would adequately reveal the history of the text and its annotation. It is perhaps enough to say that both are so vast that the professed editors often show themselves ignorant of the work of their predecessors. I am indebted for much information to a bibliography printed by Mr. H. R. Tedder in *The Bookseller* for 5 Aug. 1887 (pp. 766–73), and reprinted by Mr. Fitzgerald in the Preface of his second edition of the *Life* (1888).

83. *Fourth Edition.* 1804

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., . . . The Fourth Edition, Revised and Augmented. In Four Volumes [Octavo] . . . London, printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, in the Strand, 1804.

With this edition began the practice, which reached its culmination in Croker's editions, of enlarging the text with unpublished letters which had not been available to Boswell. For this practice there was some authority, as Boswell gives the impression of printing in his text every previously unpublished letter of Johnson's on which he could lay his hands. As a matter of fact, he passed over several letters because of their lack of interest, extracted others for the same reason, and omitted or cut others simply because of his anxiety about the size of his second volume. (See R. W. Chapman, *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, xii. 52–3 ; *Letters*, ii. 416 ; *Life*, iv. 353.) In adding new letters Malone seems to have tried to follow what he thought would have been Boswell's own method. In the three editions of the *Life* for which he was independently responsible he inserted into the text only thirteen new letters (twelve of them in the fourth edition) and added eight more (one of them merely an extract) as notes. The letters interpolated were, moreover, distinguished from Boswell's text by brackets : 'that

the author may not be answerable for any thing which had not the sanction of his approbation.' Besides these letters Malone added no other material whatsoever, except as notes. His advertisement to this edition bears the date 20 June 1804. Writing to Percy on 24 Jan. of this year, he says : 'A new ed^n^. of Boswell's Life of Johnson is just going to the press. Dr. Vyse has given me about ten new letters ; five of them written by Johnson about the time of his mother's death' (Malone MS. 26, Bodleian Library, fol. 71 verso. Communicated to me by Mr. L. F. Powell). The seven letters relating to Mrs. Johnson's death (called five by Malone because in two cases letters to Miss Porter and Mrs. Johnson were written on the same sheet) were inserted at the beginning of 1759 (i. 306–10). Three other new letters to Lucy Porter appear under dates of 18 April 1768 (ii. 59), 10 Nov. 1783, and 26 April 1784 (iv. 259, 291); one to Lady Southwell under date of 9 Sept. 1780 (iii. 476), and two to Dr. Vyse under the dates 30 Dec. 1780 (iii. 480) and 29 Nov. 1784 (iv. 437). The last is printed as a footnote.

A considerable number of new notes were also added, including some by Dr. Kearney ('K'). Malone's notes are for the first time marked 'M'. We are informed that 'four thousand copies have been dispersed'. 'Mr. Malone told me to-day [31 Jan. 1805] that a *fourth* edition of Boswell's life of Johnson is now publishing by Cadel & Davis the Proprietors.—Malone said *He* had added *many notes* to this edition.—Boswell in his lifetime made abt. £2500 by this work, and the copy right was then sold to Cadel for £300 and has proved a very good bargain for the purchaser' (Farington's *Diary*, iii. 52). Mr. R. W. Chapman's copy, which is in 'mint' condition, has blue-grey boards, fawn backs, and green paper labels which give the price ('Price 1l. 16s. boards'). The third edition probably looked much the same. The frontispiece is from the same plate as that in the second and third editions, but the other two plates bear the date 1 May 1804. This edition was printed by C. and R. Baldwin, New Bridge-street.

84. *Fifth Edition.* 1807

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. . . . The Fifth Edition, Revised and Augmented. In Four Volumes [Octavo] . . . London, printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies in the Strand, 1807.

Malone's new Advertisement is dated 1 Jan. 1807. He states that some typographical errors have been corrected, two more letters of

Dr. Johnson inserted, and several new notes added. The two new letters are: Johnson to the Rev. Dr. Leland of Dublin, 17 Oct. 1765, expressing his sense of the honour of being made an LL.D. of Trinity College (printed as a footnote on the paragraph following the text of the diploma, i. 467), and Johnson to Dr. Vyse, 22 July 1777, inserted at the proper place in the text, iii. 134. The two facsimile plates are identical with those of the fourth edition, while the frontispiece portrait is from that same plate which had served for the second, third, and fourth editions. The edition was printed by C. and R. Baldwin, New Bridge-street.

85. *First American Edition.* 1807

(As this may be somewhat rare, I give a fuller collation.)

The | Life | of | Samuel Johnson, LL.D. | comprehending | an Account of his Studies, | and | numerous Works, in chronological Order; | a Series of his | Epistolary Correspondence | and | Conversations with many eminent Persons; | and various original Pieces of his Composition, | never before published: | the whole exhibiting a View of Literature and | literary Men in Great-Britain, for near half a | Century during which he flourished. | [*Row of dots*] | By James Boswell, Esq. | [*Row of dots*] | [*Motto*] | First American from the Fifth London Edition. | In three Volumes. | [*Shaded Rule*] | Vol. I [II, III]. | [*Shaded Rule*] | Boston: | Published by W. Andrews and L. Blake | [*Row of dots*] | Greenough and Stebbins, Printers. | [*Row of dots*] | 1807.

Collation:—Octavo, 3 vols., printed in half-sheets, as follows: Vol. I, pp. 500; sign. [1] to 62 (each 4 leaves), plus 63 (2 leaves). Frontispiece portrait poorly copied from Boswell's by D. Edwin, 'Boston Published by William Andrews & Lemuel Blake 1807'. Vol. II, pp. 512; sign. [1] to 64 (each 4 leaves). The facsimile of the Round Robin, engraved by Wightman, and dated September 1807, faces p. 342. Vol. III, pp. 543; sign. [1] to 62 (each 4 leaves), 63 (2 leaves), 64 to 68 (each 4 leaves), and 69 (2 leaves). The plate giving facsimiles of Johnson's handwriting, signed and dated like that of the Round Robin, faces (in the copy I have examined) p. 472.

The British Museum possesses a set of the proposals circulated by Messrs. Andrews and Blake for publishing this edition. It seems

to be a literal reprint of Malone's fifth edition, but in size and general appearance much more closely resembles the Dublin edition of 1792. The leaves of the copy in the Library of Yale University, which have been trimmed, measure $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

86. *Sixth Edition.* 1811

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL. D. . . . The Sixth Edition, Revised and Augmented. In Four Volumes [Octavo] . . . London, Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, in the Strand, 1811.

This was the last edition revised by Malone, whose new Advertisement is dated 2 May 1811. (He died 25 April 1812.) 'Great pains have been taken to make this sixth edition accurate, in point of typography. With this view the entire work has been read over by the authour's second son, James Boswell, of the Inner Temple, Esq.; by which means many errours of the press occasioned by repeated impressions, have been discovered.—Several new notes and some letters have been added; and in the Index . . . many new articles have been inserted.' Johnson's new letters are as follows: (1) an extract from a letter 'to a friend' (Dr. Taylor), written by Johnson immediately after his return from France in 1775, and expressing his opinion of the natives of that country (footnote, ii. 418). Dr. Hill prints the whole letter as 'first published in *Notes & Queries*, 6th s., v. 422' (*Johnson's Letters*, i. 368). I think it very likely, however, from the way Malone treats this letter, that it was already published. (2) To Dr. Vyse, 10 April 1781 (printed as a footnote, iii. 480). Hill (*Johnson's Letters*, ii. 213) wrongly says this letter first appeared in Croker. (3) To Frances Reynolds, 28 June 1781 (footnote, iv. 143). Croker in his third edition (p. 697), reprinting from the original manuscript, gives it the date 21 July 1781. (4) Two letters, one to the Rev. James Compton, 6 Oct. 1782, and one to the worshipful Company of Stationers, 19 April 1783 (footnote, iv. 224). It will be noted that none of these was inserted into the text. The facsimile plates are identical with those of the fourth edition; the portrait from the same plate which had served for all the editions except the first. The printer was C. Baldwin, New Bridge-street. This edition was the one most commonly reprinted in the nineteenth century, and is often spoken of as 'the best of the pre-Crokerian editions'. The more general critical tendency now, however, seems to be to return to the

text of the third, as being more nearly that which the author himself approved.

87. *Seventh Edition.* 1811

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. . . . The Seventh Edition, Revised and Augmented. In Five Volumes [Duodecimo] . . . London, Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, in the Strand, 1811.

This, the first duodecimo edition, is a mere reprint of the sixth, even to the Errata, which have not been amended. It must have appeared simultaneously with the sixth edition, for the frontispiece portrait is dated 1 April 1811—a month earlier than Malone's Advertisement to the sixth. The facsimile plates are identical with those of the fourth edition. C. Baldwin was the printer. It will be remembered that an edition of the *Tour* in the same format appeared in the next year.

88. *Eighth Edition.* 1816

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. . . . The Eighth Edition, Revised and Augmented. In Four Volumes [Octavo] . . . London, Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, in the Strand, 1816.

This is a page for page reprint of the sixth edition, with no additions, and with the same list of Errata. The frontispiece portrait engraved by W. T. Fry is, however, new, and much superior to that in any edition since the first. It bears the date 20 April 1816. The other plates are identical with those of the fourth edition. C. Baldwin was the printer.

89. *Ninth Edition.* 1822

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. . . . The Ninth Edition, Revised and Augmented. In Four Volumes [Octavo] . . . London: Printed for T. Cadell; F. C. and J. Rivington; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown; Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy; Hatchard and Son; Ogle and Co.; G. and W. B. Whittaker; Simpkin and Marshall; J. Collingwood; and R. Saunders, 1822.

This edition was edited by Boswell's friend Alexander Chalmers. In his Advertisement (dated 24 June 1822) Chalmers says that at Malone's request he contributed a few notes and corrections to the

sixth edition, 'and has now added many more, as well as some additional particulars.' I have actually discovered only seven notes by Chalmers in the sixth edition. His additional notes to this edition are not extensive but are solid and useful. The frontispiece is from the same plate as that of the eighth edition; the two facsimiles are from those originally engraved for the fourth. C. Baldwin was the printer. The house of Baldwin, it will be noted, printed all the editions of the *Life* from the first to the ninth inclusive (1791–1822).

90. *Oxford Edition.* 1826 [1827]

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. . . . Oxford, Published by Talboys and Wheeler; and William Pickering, London, 1826.

This edition in four volumes large octavo is probably the most beautiful that has yet appeared. The editor was Francis Pearson Walesby (1798–1858), Fellow of Lincoln College and afterwards (1829–34) Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, who in the previous year had edited the edition of Johnson's works (11 volumes) in the Oxford English Classics, with which this edition of the *Life* is uniform. Although dated 1826, the edition must have appeared in the following year, for the editor's 'Prefatory Notice' (i. xi)[1] bears the date 'January, 1827', and a 'Postscript' (i. xii), evidently written after the first volume was printed, is dated 'March, 1827'. Walesby appears to have reprinted the ninth edition, preserving practically all its annotation, though he has recast some of the notes and presented them as his own. Chalmers's notes, in particular, he has frequently purloined. His name appears nowhere in the work, the new notes being signed merely 'Ed'. He says (i. x–xi): 'We have carefully perused most of the memoirs of Johnson's contemporaries, his life by Hawkins, Anderson, and Piozzi, and all the papers relating to him dispersed through the Gentleman's Magazine. We have also before us a mass of original papers, purchased at the Boswell sale; and have even taken pains to court conversations with some old servants who remembered Johnson, in the anxious hope of gleaning something illustrative of his peculiarities.' I have gone through the notes without finding evidence of any striking use of the 'conversations' or 'original papers', which, one thinks, should have included the proof-sheets of the first edition and the note-book of Boswell's now in the Adam collection. The most valuable new material of this edition is, perhaps,

[1] There are two series of pagination in roman numerals in this volume. The preliminary matter is confused, and shows evidence of cancellation.

the 'Postscript' already mentioned, which gives the results of a new collation of the manuscripts of Johnson's letters to Thomas Warton from the originals at Trinity College, Oxford. This material all the subsequent editors except Mr. Napier overlooked, and he seems to have adopted only a part of the corrections. This is the first edition of the *Life* to include a portrait of Boswell as a frontispiece.

91. *Croker's First Edition.* 1831

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. including A Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides. . . . A new Edition, with numerous Additions and Notes, by John Wilson Croker, LL.D. F.R.S. . ., In Five Volumes [large Octavo] . . . London, John Murray Albemarle-Street, 1831.

The publication of this remarkable edition opens an entirely new era in the history of Boswell's book. Malone and Chalmers had both been contemporaries of Boswell; they were so much a part of the society of which the book treats that they were hardly able to judge what passages would inevitably become obscure in the passage of time. This applies especially to Malone, who, having seen the book in all the stages of its composition, knew what was behind the text almost as well as the author himself. Croker represented the younger generation, to which the book was a record of a bygone day, and of persons whom hardly anyone then living had ever seen. In a conversation with John Murray on 8 Jan. 1829, he proposed a new edition of Boswell edited in a much fuller manner than any that had yet appeared. On the next day he elaborated his plan in greater detail in a letter to Mr. Murray. First, he said, all the unidentified personages presented in the text should be stripped of their anonymity. Secondly, extensive notes should be added to throw necessary 'light on the manners of the time, the state of society, [and] the character of persons'. And thirdly, the text should be expanded by copious extracts from the other biographers of Johnson (particularly Hawkins and Mrs. Piozzi), so as to bridge the gaps in Boswell's own account, which was based chiefly on materials gleaned during his own irregular visits to London (*Croker Correspondence*, ii. 24–5). Mr. Murray replied the same night, commending his plan, and offering him 1,000 guineas for the work of editing—almost half as much as Boswell himself had made on the work.

The new materials which Croker collected far exceed in bulk and intrinsic importance the contributions to the exegesis of Boswell made

by any other editor. In the first place, he unearthed and printed for the first time about one hundred new letters of Johnson; a larger number than had previously been published by any one except Mrs. Piozzi and Boswell, or than has been published by any one since, not excepting Dr. Hill. Boswell, indeed, had tried in vain to get a sight of many of these letters which Croker succeeded in obtaining. He also had a new collation made of the *Prayers and Meditations* from the original manuscript, secured much new information from the books of Pembroke College as to Johnson's college career, gained access to Bennet Langton's manuscripts (including several of Johnson's), and all the papers of Miss Frances Reynolds, including an unpublished manuscript of 'Recollections of Dr. Johnson'. He had at his disposal Malone's own copy of Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes*, copiously annotated, and the portfolio of materials bought at the Boswell sale, including some of the materials used by Boswell in writing the *Life*. From Macleod he received an autobiography of his father, giving an interesting account of Johnson's visit in 1773. He also secured valuable original notes from Sir Walter Scott, Chalmers, Sir James Mackintosh, Isaac D'Israeli, and others of Boswell's acquaintances and contemporaries. One of the most important of his manuscripts, a series of reminiscences dictated by Lord Stowell (referred to in the *Life* as Sir William Scott), was mailed to Sir Walter Scott and unfortunately lost in a mail-robbery. Because of Lord Stowell's great age and declining health, it was found impossible to interview him again, but Croker was able to recall some of the material. In addition to this, he made an unsuccessful attempt to secure access to the 'archives at Auchinleck'; apparently the only direction in which he suffered a rebuff. It is, I think, only fair to recall all this, because the material which Croker made accessible is now used by everybody without any thought of giving him credit for it.

In collecting materials Croker showed himself the most acute and indefatigable of all Boswell's editors. He also brought to the task a native ability for solving mysteries, which, while it sometimes carried him too far, frequently resulted in brilliantly successful elucidation of difficult passages. No other editor has equalled him in detective skill. Yet, in spite of his unquestionable abilities, his first edition was notoriously a failure. This was mainly because his fatal scheme of expanding Boswell led him to the commission of enormities against his text, the scope of which is best indicated by his own complacent preface:

'The editor will now recapitulate the *publications* which will be

found, in the *whole* or in *part*, in the five volumes of the present edition.

1. The whole of Mr. Malone's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, 4 vols. 8vo. [He reprints the advertisements of only the first four editions, and seems to imply (i. xlv n.) that he used the text of the fourth. He quite clearly, however, used the latest text.]

2. The whole of the first and most copious edition of Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, 1 vol. 8vo. [Inserted into the body of the text, ii. 250–iii. 110. This insertion was recommended—possibly suggested—by Lockhart, who wrote to Murray within ten days of his arrangement with Croker to inquire whether 'the Hebridean Tour ought not to be melted into the book', and at the same time to offer annotations by Scott (S. Smiles, *A Publisher and his Friends*, ii. 288). Fitzgerald says in his edition of the *Life*, i. xvi, that the text used is really a mongrel one, composed from all three editions. It seems unlikely that Croker would have gone to so much trouble as this implies. The text is probably that of the third edition with the cancelled passages relating to Sir Alexander Macdonald and 'young Tytler' restored from the first.]

3. The whole (though differently arranged) of Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson*, 1 vol. sm. 8vo. [*passim*].

4. The whole of Dr. Johnson's *Tour in Wales*, with notes, by R. Duppa, Esq., 1 vol. 12 mo. [Inserted into the text, iii. 125–59.]

5. The whole of an *Account of the early Life of Dr. Johnson, with his Correspondence with Miss Boothby*, 1 vol. 16mo. [*passim*].

6. A great portion of the *Letters to and from Dr. Johnson* published by H. L. Piozzi, 2 vols. 8vo. [*Passim*. 'The number of *original* letters in this edition is about 100—the number of those collected from various publications (including the extracts from Mrs. Piozzi's) is about 200.' i. xiii n.]

7. Large extracts from the *Life of Dr. Johnson*, by Sir J. Hawkins, 1 vol. 8vo. [*passim*].

8. All, that had not been already anticipated by Mr. Boswell or Mrs. Piozzi, of the *Apophthegms, Sentiments, and Opinions of Dr. Johnson*, published by Sir J. Hawkins, in his edition of Johnson's works [*passim*].

9. Extracts from *Sketches of Dr. Johnson*, by Thomas Tyers, Esq., a pamphlet, in 8vo. [*passim*].

10. Extracts from *Murphy's Essay on the Life of Dr. Johnson*, from Mr. Nichols's and Mr. Steevens's contributions to the *Gentleman's* and *London Magazines*, and from the *Lives* and *Memoirs* of

Cumberland, Cradock, Miss Hawkins, Lord Charlemont, the Wartons, and other friends and acquaintances of Dr. Johnson [*passim*; some in appendixes].

11. The whole of a *Poetical Review of the Character of Dr. Johnson*, by John Courtenay, Esq. in 4to [*Appendix*].'

This list does not indicate the entire extent of his interpolations. Being of 'publications', it does not include the extensive additions from his unpublished manuscript material. The additions are set off by brackets, and indicated by marginal notes. 'Hardly a syllable of Mr. Boswell's text or of the notes in Mr. Malone's editions have been omitted. In two or three places an indelicate expression has been omitted; and, in half a dozen instances (always, however, stated in the notes), the insertion of new matter has occasioned the omission or alteration of a few words in the text' (i. xxiii and note). Yet, in spite of his enthusiasm for additions, Mr. Croker saw fit to relegate to appendixes much of Boswell's own text, including his specimens of Johnson's early verse, all the legal arguments taken down from Johnson's dictation, the epitaph and letters of Sir James Macdonald, the brilliant account from the *Tour to the Hebrides* of the escape of the young Pretender, the catalogue of Johnson's projected works, the list of Johnson's portraits, the Dedication and Advertisements to the *Tour to the Hebrides*, the *Chronological Catalogue of Johnson's Prose Works*, and several notes. Besides these radical alterations (which are all indicated), he unquestionably was guilty of extensive and unindicated manipulation of the text. Some idea of this can be gained from the summaries presented by Percy Fitzgerald in his *Croker's Boswell*, pp. 29 ff., and the prefaces of his edition of the *Life*, i. xii-xiv.

Besides his additions, Croker contributed a great mass of original notes; 'As some proof of diligence, the editor may be allowed to state that the *Variorum* notes to the former edition were fewer than 1100, while the number of his *additional* notes is nearly 2500' (i. xxiv n.). Far too many of these notes might better have been omitted altogether, as they are merely strictures in a very offensive tone on the intelligence of the author he professed to be editing. We have not yet, however, reached the day when we can afford to ignore the first edition of Croker.

This edition has four fine frontispiece portraits, and a better index than had appeared in any previous edition. The Preface is dated 1 May 1831, the work apparently appearing in August of that year (*Croker Correspondence*, ii. 48).

92. *Croker's Second Edition.* 1835

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. including A Journal of his Tour to the Hebrides . . . to which are added, Anecdotes by Hawkins, Piozzi, Murphy, Tyers, Reynolds, Steevens, &c. and Notes by various Hands. [The motto misquotes *depicta* for *descripta*.] In Eight Volumes [vols. IX and X, 'Ten Volumes'; see below] [Small Octavo] . . . London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1835.

Macaulay's vicious attack on Croker's edition is too well-known to require any comment. His widely proclaimed intention was to 'smash' the edition, mainly because (for political reasons) he detested its editor 'more than cold boiled veal'. Had the work not been marred by the grossest faults such an onslaught would only have defeated itself, but to his glee Macaulay found his strictures (planned before the book appeared) fully justified. The other reviews, while not written with so much animus, were equally condemnatory of the method employed. Macaulay's complacent statement that the edition was suppressed ['a worthless edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, some sheets of which our readers have doubtless seen round parcels of better books' (*Diary and Letters of Mme. D'Arblay*)] is probably only in a characteristically wanton strain of rhetoric; but equally misleading is the statement of the editor of the *Croker Correspondence* (ii. 47) that 'between forty and fifty thousand copies have been sold'. The attacks on the work in its original form were so severe that Murray was forced before reprinting it to have it radically revised; for which task he thought it wise to employ another than Croker, and to omit all mention of that gentleman on the title-page. The work of revision was very ably done by John Wright (*c.* 1770–1844), editor of the *Parliamentary History* and *Parliamentary Debates*. His name does not anywhere appear in the prefaces or notes, but in his Advertisement to the third edition (1848) Croker gives credit for his labours: 'That edition [the second] included some corrections and many additions of my own; but it was carried through the press by the late Mr. Wright . . ., who selected the Johnsoniana, broke the narrative into chapters, and added some notes.' By a misprint or slip of the pen, Wright was christened 'John Knight' in Mr. Tedder's bibliography. The mistake was echoed by Fitzgerald (who makes the matter worse by calling him 'T. Knight'), and since has been

repeated endlessly. 'John Knight' belongs in the limbo with Professor Skeat's 'ghost-words'.

Wright removed from the text all the 'materials, however valuable, derived from other pens than those of Dr. Johnson and the original biographer himself.' That is, he still retained (within brackets) the *Tour to the Hebrides*, Johnson's *Diary of a Journey into Wales*, 'and various private letters [from Johnson] to Mrs. Thrale and others' (i. vi.). This, of course, was a repudiation of Croker's original scheme, but in view of the considerable insertions still left in the text it is somewhat misleading to state that 'It was considered as hardly fair to his [Boswell's] Memory, that his text should not appear pure and unbroken.' The miscellaneous Johnsoniana removed from the text were either used as footnotes or reserved for inclusion in the two supplementary volumes.

This edition seems to be essentially a revision of the edition of 1831, with no additions except in the notes and Johnsoniana. Neither in Wright's prefaces here nor Croker's to the third edition is any mention made of the appearance in this edition of new letters by Johnson, which would be the only new material, one thinks, which could have been inserted into the text. There are, however, besides the added annotation, important features which appear here for the first time. Wright's most radical innovation was the breaking of the text up into chapters with chapter headings; an arrangement followed in many of the popular editions since. The text of the *Diary of a Journey into Wales* (v. 193) was also a new one, based on an independent collation of the manuscript. Additional extracts from Boswell's original text and notes were relegated to appendixes. Croker's statement that much of the new annotation was his is supported by the third edition, in which each note is signed. Although the greater number of the new notes prove to have been Wright's, very many were by Croker, and a few were by other editors. Lockhart contributed several, some initialled and some unsigned, and a few bear the signature 'W. Smith, Jun.', who appears to have been Murray's adviser, Sir William Smith, the lexicographer, later editor of the *Quarterly Review*.

It was originally intended to bring this edition out in parts, a volume to appear on the first of each month, and the whole (as stated on the title-page) to be complete in eight volumes. Wright's preface (unsigned) to Vol. 1 bears the date February 1835. The Preface to the fourth volume is dated 1 June 1835. In a *Notice* prefixed to the eighth volume and dated 20 Sept. 1835, announcement is made that,

as it had been found impossible to comprise the *Life* and the Johnsoniana in eight volumes, the edition would be extended to ten volumes, the last two to be made up wholly of the miscellaneous non-Boswellian matter relating to Johnson. Vol. 10 appeared on the first of December, and with it was issued a new set of title-pages to replace those first published. (These, no doubt, have often been substituted for the originals. The only change is the replacement of 'Eight' Volumes by 'Ten'. The mistake in the motto is not corrected.) A great deal of material not in the edition of 1831 was inserted in the two extremely useful supplementary volumes of Johnsoniana, including some that had never before been published, such as the extracts from Boswell's correspondence with Malone. These Johnsoniana were separately printed in 1836 in a sumptuous octavo (some large-paper copies), fully illustrated with plates (see *post*), and have been reprinted several times since.

This was the first illustrated edition. Each volume has at the beginning two excellent steel engravings (a frontispiece and an extra title-page). The first volume also has another engraving at p. 218 (see below). 'The index is not so complete as in the previous octavo edition. It was first published at fifty shillings and then reduced to thirty shillings' (Tedder).

This edition was stereotyped, and many times re-issued with new title-pages. The first such re-issue was in 1839, when Croker's name was restored and many more illustrations added. The title-page reads 'The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. including A Journal of his Tour to the Hebrides . . . New Edition, with numerous Additions and Notes, by the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker, M.P. to which are added two supplementary volumes of Johnsoniana, by Hawkins, Piozzi, Murphy, Tyers, Reynolds, Malone, Nichols, Steevens, Cumberland, and others. And notes by various Hands. Also, upwards of Fifty Engraved Illustrations. In Ten Volumes [small octavo] . . . London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, MDCCXXXIX'. This is sometimes referred to as 'Croker's third edition', but inaccurately so, as the text, being printed from stereotyped plates, is identical with that of the second edition. The only change is in the title-page and in the addition of many more illustrations. These engravings were not new, but had been published as a separate series in 1835, simultaneously with the *Life*. A leaf at the end of the first volume (dated February 1835) announces that on the first of April will be published 'Part I of Mr. Murray's Illustrations of the Various Memoirs of the Life and Times of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.'; each part to include

five engravings, issued monthly, the price of the work in Octavo being 3*s.* 6*d.*, and in Quarto, 5*s.* Before appearing in the *Life*, many of them had also served to embellish the *Johnsoniana* of 1836.

It would be of little value to list all the issues printed from these same plates. On his publication of Croker's third edition, Murray seems to have disposed of the plates to Bohn, who issued several printings from them in his 'Shilling Series'. I have seen 'editions', dated 1851 and 1857, bearing the same title-page as that of 1839 but with Bohn's imprint: 'London, Henry G. Bohn, York Street Covent Garden,' and another issue with the same imprint, dated 1859 and mentioning Wright: 'The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. . . . with numerous Additions and Notes, by the Right Hon. J. Wilson Croker, M.P., revised and enlarged under his direction by John Wright, Esq., Editor of Cavendish's Debates, etc.' Mr. Tedder says that Bohn brought this edition out again in 1864. In *Book Prices Current* I find records of what must be the same thing under many dates: 1844, 1846 (? 1864), 1853, 1868, 1871, 1880, &c. The fact is that, no matter what the title-pages may say, all Crokers in ten volumes small octavo (often described as duodecimo) are, so far as the text is concerned, one and the same thing. The number of illustrations varies. Naturally, the impression of 1839 is much the most desirable because of the wider margins and the superior quality of the engravings.

93. *Croker's Third Edition.* 1848

Boswell's Life of Johnson: including their Tour to the Hebrides. By the Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, LL.D. F.R.S. A new Edition, thoroughly revised, with much additional matter. With Portraits. London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1848.

This is a single thick volume, royal octavo, pp. xxiv + 874, printed in double columns, 'in a small but legible type, with a vignette of Boswell [from Lawrence's caricature] and a frontispiece containing the different Johnson portraits' (Tedder). In his Advertisement (dated September 1847) Croker admits the error of his ways in the first edition, and announces his general adherence to the plan of the second: 'The present edition is formed on the same principle [as that of 1835], for, in addition to every other motive, its shape and size required as much compression as possible. Boswell's text is, therefore, uninterrupted; but I have retained the most important

biographical extracts from the Thrale correspondence, and have even found room for a few more original letters. I have also added several new notes, and have abridged, altered, and I hope improved, many of the old ones.'

Croker's statement that Boswell's text is 'uninterrupted' is as misleading as Wright's in the edition of 1835, for the *Tour to the Hebrides*, the *Diary of a Journey into Wales*, and many letters of Johnson's are still interpolated. In fact, there are more interpolated letters in this edition than in that of 1835: 'The number of original letters in my edition of 1831 was about 100—to which I have now added about 20; and there are about 50 extracts from the Thrale Correspondence' (p. xiii, n. 1.). He also states in his Preface (p. xiii) that he had included *all* the *Prayers and Meditations* 'that appear to offer anything of interest'. I have not made a close enough study of the text to determine whether this represents additions to the text of 1835 or not. On the whole, the chief difference seems to consist in the revision of the notes, and the great abridgement of the Johnsoniana, which here appear as Appendixes. Boswell's list of Johnson's portraits, which in the two previous editions had been printed in an appendix with large additions by John Murray, Jr., is put back into its proper place as Boswell wrote it. In this edition (p. 825) Croker presented at least one new document: Boswell's *Errata and Observations* on Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands*. Wright's notes from the previous edition are now marked with his name. Croker also acknowledges (p. xv) assistance from Peter Cunningham and J. G. Lockhart.

In spite of the radical revision it had undergone, Croker's final text was still far from presenting Boswell's own book. 'His repentance . . . was not thorough. He never restored the text to its old state; wanton transpositions of passages still remain, and numerous insertions break the narrative' (Hill, *Life*, i. xxiii).

This, the most compendious, and in many respects the most useful, edition of Croker, was stereotyped and many times reprinted. In 1856 Murray was selling it for fifteen shillings. I have seen issues with the dates 1853, 1860, and 1866. Tedder notes other reprints in 1851 (with additional illustrations) and 1876. In *Book Prices Current* and the printed catalogues of various libraries I find what must be the same edition recorded under the dates 1857, 1870, 1876, and 1890 (? 1860). Some of these issues included at the end extracts from Lockhart's defence of the edition against Macaulay's review. The edition of 1860 (which Tedder says appeared in shilling parts)

adds nine more portraits, and a brief appendix (VIII) relating to the Rev. C. J. La Trobe on p. 846, with a one-line reference to this appendix in the notes on p. 805. There may have been other slight changes in the various impressions, but I have noted none. It is substantially correct to say that all one-volume Crokers published by Murray are textually one and the same thing.

94. *National Illustrated Library Edition.* 1851

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. [the full title, as in Boswell's own editions] . . . A new Edition, elucidated by copious Notes, and illustrated with numerous Portraits, Views, and characteristic Designs, engraved from authentic Sources. In Four Volumes [Octavo]. . . . London, Office of the National Illustrated Library, 198 Strand, n.d. [1851].

This edition is remarkable only as being the first to be fully illustrated with a profusion of wood-cuts in the text. It is a reprint of Malone's sixth edition, with a few original notes signed 'Ed.' The text is broken into chapters, the division and chapter headings being different from Wright's. The illustrations are profuse and useful. The publishers were Herbert Ingraham and Nathaniel Cooke, proprietors of the *Illustrated News*. Tedder and Fitzgerald state that Robert Carruthers was the editor, on what authority I have been unable to discover. Carruthers' name appears as editor on the title-page of the edition of the *Tour to the Hebrides* issued in 1852 in the same format as this edition of the *Life*, and containing the index for all five volumes, but nowhere in the four volumes of the *Life* is he mentioned as editor of that work. The Preface to the *Life* is dated from London; that to the *Tour* from Inverness, and the two works are edited on entirely different principles: the *Life* almost without new annotation, the *Tour* in an independent edition with a great mass of new and valuable notes (see *ante*, p. 125).

Issued in monthly volumes at half-a-crown each, or the whole set, four volumes in two, bound in 'calf half-extra', for 18*s*. This edition was stereotyped and many times reprinted; I believe always without date.

95. *Fitzgerald's Edition.* 1874

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. together with A Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides . . . A Reprint of the First Edition, to which are added Mr. Boswell's Corrections and Additions,

Issued in 1792 [*sic*]; the Variations of the Second Edition, with some of the Author's Notes prepared for the Third: the Whole edited, with new Notes, by Percy Fitzgerald, M.A., F.S.A. In Three Volumes [Octavo] . . . London, Bickers and Son, 1, Leicester Square, W.C., 1874.

This edition represents the first scholarly reaction against the tradition of the 'edited' Boswell. Since 1831 Croker's editions in one form or another had usurped the field, though Malone's sixth edition had been many times reprinted for popular consumption. Fitzgerald maintained, as opposed to Croker, and even to a lesser extent Malone, that Boswell's work should not be regarded as a miscellaneous encyclopaedia of Johnsoniana, but as an artistic whole, the arrangement of which should not be tampered with. Nothing should be interpolated into the text or the original notes; although some annotation had become necessary to make the text intelligible in the sense Boswell intended it, such annotation should be sparingly added and entirely fenced off from Boswell's own notes on a separate part of the page.

For a text Mr. Fitzgerald fell back upon that of the first edition, as being the only one actually arranged by Boswell to his own satisfaction. The text of the second was admittedly chaotic; that of the third was partially arranged by Malone and contains non-Boswellian notes. A critical apparatus, however, was included to show the changes in the text, Mr. Fitzgerald professing to print the whole of the *Corrections and Additions* of 1793, properly distributed, and to indicate all the textual variations between the first and second editions, as well as some of the Boswellian additions to the third. The *Tour to the Hebrides* was included, but as a separate work, with its own introductory matter; the text is that of the first edition, with a critical apparatus giving the variants of the second and third. The index to this edition is Boswell's own for the first edition of the *Life*, with the page numbers altered; it contains no reference to the *Tour*, the *Corrections and Additions*, or Fitzgerald's own notes.

The chief strength of this edition should have been its critical apparatus. Mr. Fitzgerald was, however, perhaps the last man in the world who could have been trusted to perform such a piece of work. It would be in the highest degree captious and ungenerous not to acknowledge the wealth of new and out-of-the-way knowledge with which he has enriched the study of the biography and bibliography

of Boswell, but it would be equally reprehensible not to record, somewhere in this book, a warning as to his inaccuracy. Indeed, of all men with whose writings I have ever had any experience, he is certainly the most wantonly and inexplicably inaccurate. In this particular instance we have a ready means of testing the accuracy and inclusiveness of his critical apparatus. In his preface (p. xx) he says that 'he has collated the three editions [of the *Tour*], line by line, and noted every change made'. A reference to the textual notes of Mr. Chapman's edition shows immediately that he did no such thing. Indeed, one has only to scan the few pages of his introductory matter to find copious instances of that constant and fatal inaccuracy which will always prevent his work from receiving the thorough study which it really deserves.

This edition, however, served a most useful purpose in leading the way to a more conservative attitude towards Boswell's text. It emphasized, more than any other had done, the artistic unity of the work. It was the first inclusive edition to give the *Tour* its deserved independence—an arrangement which has never since been departed from. It still furnishes an easily accessible reprint of the first editions of both the *Tour* and the *Life*. As a critical edition, however, it will be entirely superseded by the revised Hill, now in the press.

This edition also was stereotyped, and has been at least twice reprinted. A so-called 'Second Edition, with a Preface by the Editor, and a Boswell Bibliography by H. R. Tedder, F.S.A., Librarian to the Athenaeum Club', was issued by Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., London, 1888. The only change is in the introductory matter, the text being identical. This was again reprinted in 1910 by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.

96. *Napier's Edition.* 1884

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. together with the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides . . . New editions with Notes and Appendices by Alexander Napier, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge, Vicar of Holkham, Editor of the Cambridge Edition of the Theological works of Barrow. . . . London, George Bell and Sons, York Street Covent Garden, 1884.

Octavo, 4 vols. plus one vol. (unnumbered) of Johnsoniana, 'newly collected and edited by Robina Napier.'

This, the best edition of the *Life* before Hill's, is essentially a revised Croker. The texts, Mr. Napier says, are 'pure'—'as Boswell

wrote and as he left them'. This is not strictly true. The text of the *Tour* is that of the third edition with the cancelled passages relating to Sir Alexander Macdonald and 'young Tytler' recorded in the notes, but the text of the *Life* follows Malone's editions in inserting at the beginning of 1759 the seven letters relating to the death of Johnson's mother, and the letter from Johnson to Dr. Vyse under date of 22 July 1777. This last was undoubtedly unintentional, Mr. Napier having been misled by the fact that Croker in his edition of 1848 did not surround the letter with brackets. The other letters inserted by Malone into the text are, with one exception, collected in appendixes at the end of the various volumes, with a selection from Croker's interpolated letters. Some of Boswell's own notes are relegated to the appendixes, which also contain valuable discussions by the editor of points which could not readily be compassed in notes. The annotation is *variorum*, and mainly selected from Croker's editions. Boswell's own notes are unsigned, those of other editors being distinguished by their signatures. Mr. Napier's own notes (signed 'Editor') are sparingly and judiciously added. The edition is prefaced by a very valuable essay on Johnson's various biographers (with an especially full account of the Rev. William Shaw), and a résumé of the work done by the different editors on Boswell's text. The *Life* and the *Tour* contain excellent separate indexes.

Mrs. Napier's *Johnsoniana* is not a reprint of Croker's (though it contains much of the same material) but a separate and highly useful compilation. The most important item is Dr. Thomas Campbell's *Diary of a Visit to England in 1775*, which was first published at Sydney, New South Wales, in 1854, but was here for the first time printed in England. It is also separately indexed.

This edition was handsomely printed, with many useful and beautiful illustrations. There was also published by Bell (in Bohn's Standard Library) in the same year a cheaper edition in six volumes, foolscap octavo, the *Johnsoniana* being the sixth volume, though not so numbered. This is not called a second edition on the title-page (which bears the same wording as the edition in five volumes), but really deserves that designation, as Mr. Napier (i. xxiii) states that the text of the whole work has been carefully revised, typographical errors corrected, and a few additions made in the notes. The volume of *Johnsoniana* contains an important addition in the seven letters from Boswell to Lord Hailes, of which only portions had previously been published.

97. *Morley's Edition.* 1885

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. and the Journal of his Tour to the Hebrides by James Boswell, illustrated with portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Edited by Henry Morley, LL.D., Professor of English Literature at University College, London. In Five Volumes [Octavo] . . . London, George Routledge and Sons Broadway, Ludgate Hill; New York: 9, Lafayette Place, 1885.

I include this because, so far as I know, it is the only edition which reprints the preface to Chalmers's edition (the ninth)—a book not commonly met with. It includes all the prefaces down to, and including, Croker's, with the sole exception of Walesby's (1826), adding biographical notices of the different editors. It is thus a very useful secondary source for a study of the various editions. The text of the *Tour* is apparently that of the fourth edition; the *Life* seems to follow the sixth. The notes are somewhat abridged, Boswell's own notes being unmarked; the others are bracketed; signed, if not by the editor, otherwise unsigned. Johnson's own account of his early life is included, as well as *London*, *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, and the *Drury Lane Prologue*. 'There is a useful and original dated index, as well as a very good general alphabetical index' (Tedder).

The chief attraction of this edition was supposed to be the fine typography and the mezzotints from Sir Joshua Reynolds's portraits. I find both printing and reproductions disappointing. Only 500 copies were originally printed. It was, however, re-issued in 1891 in a cheaper edition, much inferior in appearance.

98. *Hill's Edition.* 1887

Boswell's Life of Johnson, including Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales. Edited by George Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L., Pembroke College, Oxford. In Six Volumes [Large Octavo] . . . Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1887.

This has so long held the field as the one edition for scholarly use that it is most unlikely it will ever be superseded. It is not a *variorum* of previous editions, but was compiled after a radically different system. The former editors had, with varying degrees of

fullness, attempted to elucidate Boswell's *Life of Johnson*; Hill went beyond this, and elevated Boswell's sub-title into a position of only slightly inferior importance. 'Had it been merely', he says, 'the biography of a great man of letters that I was illustrating, such anxious care would scarcely have been needful. But Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, as its author with just pride boasts on its title-page, "exhibits a view of literature and literary men in Great Britain, for near half a century during which Johnson flourished"' (i. xv). His purpose was, therefore, to surround Boswell's book with as rich a mass of illustrative comment concerning 'the literature and literary men in Great Britain' during the latter half of the eighteenth century as he could find reasonable connexion for in the allusions of the text. In especial, to illustrate Johnson's statements as reported by Boswell, he 'compared them with the opinions of the more eminent men among his contemporaries, and with his own as they are contained in other parts of his *Life*, and in his writings' (i. xvii). These references to parallel passages in Johnson's own works constitute one of the most valuable features of the edition, as the index to the *Life* serves in some measure as a concordance to the *Works*. The mass of pertinent illustrative material from other books shows Hill to have been easily the best-read of all the editors after Malone, and he added to his knowledge a genuine sympathy for his author. The welter of notes, many of which have no very close dependence on the text, might easily have degenerated into mere anarchy and confusion, but is, like the text, analysed and controlled by an elaborate index, perhaps the best yet made for any great English classic. Hill frankly regarded his edition as a reference work, rather than a book for general reading. To facilitate ease of reference, he instituted an elaborate system of cross-references in the notes, by which each passage is tied up with all the other related passages. This is of the greatest aid to the student, who usually consults it in the prosecution of a particular problem. The great mass of pertinent matter from other books, the fullness and convenience of the index, and the uniform accuracy of the references, make the edition one of the few indispensable tools for all workers in the eighteenth century.

As new material, Dr. Hill notes 'fifteen hitherto unpublished letters of Johnson; his college composition in Latin prose; a long extract from his manuscript diary; a suppressed passage in his *Journey to the Western Islands*; Boswell's letters of acceptance of the office of Secretary for Foreign Correspondence to the Royal Academy; the proposal for the publication of a *Geographical Dictionary* issued by

Johnson's beloved friend, Dr. Bathurst; and Mr. Recorder Longley's record of his conversation with Johnson on Greek metres' (i. xviii, where complete references are given).

Each of the volumes contains interesting and valuable appendixes on subjects too extensive to be treated in the notes, and the sixth volume, besides the great index, includes a series of *Addenda* (separately indexed!), and a Concordance of Johnson's Sayings. The edition is handsomely printed, and illustrated with fourteen useful portraits, facsimiles, a chart, and a map.

There are some faults. The objection most commonly urged, that the mass of notes makes the book hard to read, is not, I think, valid. The work was intended by Hill himself rather for reference than for general reading. 'Let him who reads the *Life of Johnson* for the first time read it in one of the *Pre-Crokerian* editions' (i. xxiv). The fact is, that it is a biographical encyclopædia, and in an encyclopædia one expects to find material for which he has no immediate use. It must, however, be admitted that, even granting the soundness of the scheme in general, too many of the notes seem to have been written out of 'a rage for saying something where there's nothing to be said' (*Life*, i. 329. Even while censuring Hill one must use him. I found this quotation instantly in his Concordance of Johnson's Sayings, under 'Rage'). The state of the text, also, is not wholly satisfactory. Dr. Hill adopted that of the third edition, the first time, so far as I know, that it had ever been reprinted with no addition. (Up to Hill the sixth edition was usually chosen as the basic text.) Because Malone had not read the proofs, Hill had the entire text of the second edition read to him, and 'in a few unimportant cases earlier in the book' adopted the readings of the second, where he thought the third in error, but he made no record of these alterations. Moreover, as two volumes were passing through the press at the same time, an intolerably large number of the forward references is by day only—an extremely inconvenient arrangement, as some of Boswell's days cover several pages.

These defects will be remedied in the revised edition, now in the press under the editorship of Mr. L. F. Powell. The new edition will retain the pagination of the old, but will be made a genuine critical edition, recording all the variations of importance in the first and second editions. All important errors in the texts of those letters of Johnson which Mr. R. W. Chapman has collated with the originals will be pointed out. The cross-references will all be to volume and page. For Hill's headlines will be substituted a date-line, as exact

as possible, including the day of the week. The references to Johnson's *Works* will, wherever necessary, include the title of the work referred to. A considerable amount of new matter, in a condensed form, and consisting largely of references to publications not known to Hill, will be added in appendixes.

As part of this edition really should be included, though published subsequently, four other Johnsonian volumes edited by Dr. Hill and published uniformly with the *Life*, as follows:—

Letters of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. Collected and edited by George Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L., Pembroke College, Oxford. Editor of Boswell's 'Life of Johnson'. In two Volumes [Octavo]... Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1892.

Johnsonian Miscellanies. Arranged and edited by George Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L., LL.D., Honorary Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford. Editor of 'Boswell's Life of Johnson' and of 'The Letters of Samuel Johnson.' In two Volumes [Octavo]... Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1897.

The *Letters*, the first edition of Johnson's correspondence which made any claim to inclusiveness, contain nearly 1,050 letters, upwards of a hundred of which Dr. Hill published for the first time. The letters presented in the *Life* are not reprinted, but are all listed under the proper dates with reference to the *Life*. Several interesting appendixes are added to each volume. The letters are annotated on the same principles as the text of the *Life*, and the index is of the same quality. The *Johnsonian Miscellanies* are in the main a reprint of Wright's *Johnsoniana*, but much new material has been included. The text of *Prayers and Meditations* is a new one, based on an independent collation of the manuscript. Hill also had access to all Miss Reynolds's manuscripts, and made some corrections in and additions to Croker. Several new letters of Johnson are here published for the first time from the Adam collection and other sources, as well as some previously unpublished notes by the Rev. John Hussey, Johnson's friend. The importance of the work, however, is not to be measured by the amount of new material. Besides all the minor anecdotes, Johnson's *Prayers and Meditations* and *Annals* and Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes* are here presented in what can hardly be regarded as anything but a definitive manner. The two volumes are indexed in Dr. Hill's usual style.

The *Life* was reprinted in 1889 by Harper and Brothers, New York. The text is identical with the Oxford edition, but unfortunately the

pagination is entirely different, which makes this edition quite useless for purposes of reference. In re-setting the type, the notes were made to run across the page instead of being arranged in double columns, and the page headings were altered to fit the new distribution of material. This edition was stereotyped, and first issued as a fine large-paper limited edition, with many illustrations. In 1891 a cheaper reprint of the format of the Oxford edition was issued from the same plates, also with the imprint of Harper and Brothers. Since that time the plates have passed to Messrs. Bigelow, Brown and Company, of New York, who have issued one or more impressions without date.

The *Letters of Johnson* and *Johnsonian Miscellanies* were also published by Harper and Brothers simultaneously with their appearance in England (1892 and 1897 respectively). For these books, however, the Clarendon Press furnished the sheets of both English and American editions, so that the two are identical except for the title-pages.

99. *Ingpen's Edition.* 1907

The Life of Samuel Johnson, by James Boswell. Newly edited with Notes by Roger Ingpen . . . London, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1 Amen Corner, E.C. 1907.

2 vols., very large octavo (10 by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches), paged continuously.

This deserves mention as being much the most fully and usefully illustrated of all the editions of the *Life*. There are in the two volumes 568 illustrations, facsimiles, and maps, besides twelve photogravure plates. Many of these are wholly new, and all were chosen for their authenticity and their direct bearing on the text. Each volume contains a complete alphabetical index of the illustrations, making the work an extremely convenient store-house of pictorial illustration for the whole latter part of the eighteenth century. The text is that of the fifth edition, broken into chapters, with *variorum* notes from Malone and Croker, and a few additional touches of original annotation. Mr. Ingpen's own literary contribution consists mainly, however, in the full notes of explanation which he has added to the illustrations. The preface, besides brief essays on Johnson and Boswell, contains a short and not wholly accurate summary of the bibliography of the *Life*. The index is original and full.

There are at least five impressions of this edition, all practically identical, though not typographically so. The first edition was issued

in thirteen monthly parts at one shilling each. An edition published in 1909 by Sturgis and Walton, New York, is from the same sheets as the first edition. Another edition, with the same imprint as the first but without date, and called the 'Bicentenary', was issued in 1909 in twenty-six sixpenny parts; it is from the same type as the first edition, but shows certain corrections. In 1925 a new edition, entirely re-set, was printed by the Pitman Press and published by George Bayntun, Bath, and Charles Lauriat, Boston. This is a page-for-page reprint of the earlier issues, with a few additional cuts, new plates for the full-page photogravures, and one extra plate. A new preface is added, giving an interesting summary of the progress of Johnsonian scholarship between 1907 and 1925. Lauriat's edition is bound in three, instead of two, volumes, with consequent re-arrangement of the alphabetical indexes of illustrations.

100. *Temple Bar Edition.* 1922

The Life of Samuel Johnson [including the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides], by James Boswell. Edited by Clement Shorter . . . New York, printed for Gabriel Wells by Doubleday, Page and Company, Garden City, N. Y. 1922. [Octavo, 10 vols.]

This sumptuous library edition, of which only 785 copies were issued, lays claim to the distinction of being 'the best printed edition of Boswell's great book that has ever been given to the world.' In mere typography, I think the Oxford edition of 1826 superior, though the wealth of plates (especially facsimiles) makes this the more interesting. The text of the *Life* is that of the third edition, I believe with no change in the original notes. The *Tour* follows the third edition and is elucidated by *variorum* notes from previous editions, especially Arnold Glover's in the Temple Classics. The really distinguishing feature of the edition, however, is the original introductions, each written by some distinguished Johnsonian. The authors in order are as follows: Aleyn Lyell Reade, Augustine Birrell, W. P. Trent, G. K. Chesterton, A. E. Newton, John Drinkwater, R. B. Adam, Walter de la Mare, C. B. Tinker, and Richard Ashe King. Mr. Shorter's bibliographical introduction to the first volume gives a brief summary of the pre-Boswellian *Lives* and of the bibliography of the *Life* itself.

101. *Navarre Society Edition.* 1924

The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. By James Boswell. The First Edition, 1791, reprinted Verbatim with the Appendix, 'The Principal Corrections and Additions,' 1793, and illustrated with twenty photogravure Etchings, fifty half-tone Plates, and a Facsimile Autograph Letter. Preface by Clement K. Shorter. In Three Volumes [Octavo] . . . London, Privately Printed for the Navarre Society Limited, 23 New Oxford Street, W.C. 1924.

The distinctive features of this edition are fully and accurately described in the title. The most important, of course, is the reprint of the *Corrections and Additions* (iii. 495–571), which had never before been reproduced, and is so rare as to be generally inaccessible. This alone makes the edition indispensable to all but a few favoured libraries. The *Life* is very beautifully printed in an especially large and legible print, which, with the many plates, makes the book a very attractive one for general reading, though it is absurd to refer to it (as sales catalogues sometimes do) as 'the definitive edition'. Mr. Shorter's preface (rather strangely placed between Boswell's Introduction and the text) contains a full and accurate account of the progress of composition of Boswell's *magnum opus*.

Abridgements of the Life of Johnson

In what follows I list a few of the more interesting abridgements from Boswell's great work. I have made no record of school texts, of which there is now a very large number.

102. *Sir Andrew Anecdote's Collection.* 1791

A | Collection | of | Interesting Biography. | Containing | I. | The Life of S. Johnson, LL.D. | —Abridged, principally, from Boswell's celebrated | Memoirs of the Doctor: | II. | The Life of Mr. Elwes, | —(Abridged)—by Captain Topham: | III. | The Life of Captain Cook, | —(Abridged)—by Dr. Kippis. | [*Shaded rule*] | The whole revised and abridged by | Sir Andrew Anecdote. | [*Shaded rule*] | Vol. I. | [*Shaded rule*] | London: | Printed for the Editor; | and sold by D. Brewman,

New Street, Shoe Lane; | W. Locke, Red Lion Street, Holborn; and all | other Booksellers. | 1791.

Collation:—This appeared in two volumes, but I do not know where a complete set may be found. Mr. L. F. Powell has the first volume, Mr. R. B. Adam the re-issue of the Life of Johnson (F. Thomas's Abridgement, see no. 104), and the Rev. Dr. McKinlay a copy of the Dublin edition (see no. 103), which is not identical in pagination, but preserves all the material in the same arrangement. From these three it is possible to make a complete collation for that part of the book which concerns Boswell: Duodecimo, printed in half-sheets, pp. iv + 156; consisting of: Half-title, '[*Shaded rule*] | A | Collection | of | Interesting Biography. | [*Shaded rule*]', pp. [i–ii] (missing in Mr. Powell's copy, but included in the Dublin edition); Title-page, pp. [iii–iv]; sign. B, four leaves, pp. [1]–8; C to P_2 in sixes, pp. 9–156. On p. 156 appears the statement, 'End of the first Volume'. (This has been erased in Mr. Powell's copy, as has also 'Vol. I' on the title-page.) 'F. Thomas's Abridgement' (no. 104) shows that 24 pages of the Life of Johnson must have appeared in the second volume. In the Dublin edition these pages are in continuous pagination with that part of the Life which has preceded. T ere is a running headline, *Dr. Samuel Johnson*, and the pages are numbered in arabic numerals. The engraved frontispiece, 'Cruikshanks delin.' and 'Barlow sculp.', shows 'Dr. Johnson's Politeness to Madame Boufflers.'

This was advertised in *Lond. Chron.*, 9 July 1791 (lxx. 31), as in two volumes, 'closely printed. Price 5s. sewed'. Mr. Powell's copy (which was in an eighteenth-century circulating library) is in boards; the leaves, slightly trimmed, measure $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches. See the two following items, and the general notes following no. 104.

103. *Irish Edition.* 1792

The title-page of this edition is identical with that of no. 102, except that 'Vol. I.' is omitted, and the imprint is 'Dublin: | Printed for P. Wogan, P. Byrne, W. Sleater, A. Grueber, | J. Moore, J. Jones, R. M'Allister, W. Jones, | R. White, J. Rice, and A. Porter. | [*Rule*] | M.DCC.XCII.'

Collation:—Duodecimo, pp. iv + 183 + 52 + 72; consisting of: Half-title (see no. 102), Title-page, pp. [i–iv]; Text of Life of Johnson,

B to I_8 in twelves, pp. [1]–183; Text of Life of Elwes, I_9 to L_{10}, pp. [1]–52 (new pagination); Text of Life of Captain Cook, L_{11} to O_{10}, pp. [1]–72 (new pagination). The book is a literal reprint in one volume of Sir Andrew Anecdote's collection, but runs to a few more pages. Through inadvertence, the statement, 'End of the First Volume', appears on p. 159, and p. 160 begins with a separate heading. The engraved frontispiece (which is not signed) is a close copy of that in no. 102. The other two Lives are preceded by engraved medallion heads, unsigned, and probably copied from the same source.

There is a copy of this edition in the possession of the Rev. Dr. McKinlay. The leaves (which have been trimmed) measure $6\frac{9}{16}$ by 4 inches.

104. *F. Thomas's Abridgement.* 1792

The three Lives in the above collection were subsequently issued separately with new title-pages, that of the Life of Johnson being as follows:

The | Life | of | Dr. Samuel Johnson, LL.D. | carefully | abridged | from | Mr. Boswell's large work. | [*Shaded rule*] | By F. Thomas, Esq. of the Inner Temple. | [*Shaded rule*] | London: | Printed for the Editor; | and sold by D. Brewman, New Street, Shoe Lane; | W. Locke, Red Lion Street, Holborn; | and all | other Booksellers. | 1792.

Collation:—Duodecimo, printed in half-sheets, pp. ii + 180. Up to p. 156, with the exception of the Title-page, the collation is the same as for no. 102, but there seems to have been no Half-title. Then, *P, four leaves, pp. 157–64, Q to R_2 in sixes, pp. 165–80. Up to p. 156 the sheets appear to be identical with those of no. 102, and the others are probably so. The frontispiece is from the same plate as in no. 102.

Issued in blue-grey wrappers at 1*s.* 6*d.* The leaves of a copy in the Adam Collection, in wrappers, uncut, measure $7\frac{7}{16}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The appearance of this cheap piracy with its reference to Boswell's 'celebrated Memoirs of the Doctor' within less than two months of the publication of the *Life* shows what excitement the book was causing. The abridgement (a readable and representative condensation of the entire *Life*) is made in the third person—'the following

instance was told Mr. Boswell' (or, more frequently, 'Mr. B.'), but manages to keep fairly close to the words of Boswell's text. Some of the letters are reprinted, including that to Lord Chesterfield (pp. 45–7). The Conversation with King George III is also included (pp. 84–90). The abridgement ends with an extended and fulsome compliment to Boswell: 'On the whole, we have nothing to regret, but that the preceding Abridgment gives too faint an idea of the astonishing merit of the original.'

Messrs. Brewman and Locke, however, seem to have found that the three Lives would sell better if issued separately. Hence the appearance of the abridgement of the Life of Johnson as a new work by F. Thomas, who probably had no more actual existence than Sir Andrew Anecdote. On the last page (p. 64) of the second edition of their publication entitled 'J. Merry's Jest Book' (no. 105) appears the following advertisement: 'In 12mo, Price 6d. (Embellished with an accurate likeness), The Life of Mr. Elwes, the celebrated miser . . . written by Captain Topham. In 12mo, Price 1s. 6d. sewed (Embellished with a characteristical frontispiece), The Life of Dr Samuel Johnson, LL.D., carefully abridged from Mr. Boswell's large work by F. Thomas, Esq. of the Inner Temple. In 12mo, Price 6d. (Embellished with a striking likeness), The Life of . . . Captain Cook. . . . as written by Dr. Kippis, abridged by F. Thomas, Esq. of the Inner Temple.' The text of the abridgement of Boswell in the *Collection* appears to have been paged continuously, even though it ran over into the second volume. It was therefore easy to detach it from the other two Lives, but impossible, without reprinting, to remove the tell-tale notice, 'End of the First Volume', on p. 156.

Messrs. Brewman and Locke made another venture in Boswellian piracy, as follows:

105. '*J. Merry's*' *Witticisms.* 1791

The | Witticisms, Anecdotes, | Jests, and Sayings, | of | Dr. Samuel Johnson, | during | the Whole Course of his Life. | Collected | From Boswell, Piozzi, Hawkins, Baretti, Beauclerk, | Sir Joshua Reynolds, | And other Gentlemen in the Habits of Intimacy with the Doctor. | And | A full Account | of | Dr. Johnson's Conversation with the King. | To which is added, | A great number of Jests, | In which the most distinguished Wits of the present Century bore a Part. | [*Rule*] | By J.

Merry, Esq. of Pembroke College. | [*Rule*] | By Nature's Gifts ordain'd Mankind to rule, | He, like a Titian, form'd his brilliant School; | And taught congenial Spirits to excel, | While from his Lips impressive Wisdom fell. | Courtenay | [*Rule*] London: | Printed for the Editor; | and sold by D. Brewman, New Street, Shoe Lane; | W. Locke, Red Lion Street, Holborn; and all | other Booksellers. | [Price one Shilling and Six-pence.] | 1791.

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. 72; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; Text, pp. [3]–72. Signatures [B]–K_4 in fours. There is an engraved frontispiece, dated 10 Nov. 1791, designed by Isaac Cruikshank and engraved by Barlow, showing Dr. Johnson at 'Mrs. Thrale's Breakfast Table'. The book, which is obviously compiled by the same 'editor' as no. 102, consists of three parts: (1) 'The Witticisms and Jests of Dr. Johnson'—miscellaneous anecdotes taken almost *verbatim* from Boswell, but told in the third person; (2) 'Dr. Johnson's Conversation with the King' from Boswell, *verbatim* and entire; (3) 'Miscellaneous Pieces, Bon Mots, &c. from various Authors'. The 'various authors' include Baretti and Goldsmith. The book was first advertised in *Lond. Chron.* 10 Dec. 1791 (lxx. 555). The advertisement is immediately followed by that of the 'Collection of Interesting Biography' by the same publishers.

Issued in fawn wrappers, stabbed. Boswell's own copy, in 'mint' condition, uncut and mainly unopened, is in the Isham Collection. The leaves measure $9\frac{1}{8}$ by $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches. There is a copy in the British Museum, as well as a second edition 'improved', 1793 (price one shilling), and a third, 1797.

106. *The Beauties of Johnson.* 1792

A New Edition, being the Eighth, | wherein the two Volumes are comprised in | One, and arranged under one Alphabet, | with very considerable Additions. | The | Beauties | of | Samuel Johnson, LL.D. | consisting of | Maxims and Observations, | Moral, Critical, and Miscellaneous: | to which are now added, | Biographical Anecdotes | of the | Doctor, | selected from | The Works of Mrs. Piozzi;—His Life, | recently pub-

lished by Mr. Boswell, | and other authentic Testimonies, | also, | His Will, and the Sermon he wrote for the | late Doctor Dodd. | [*Double rules*] | London: | Printed for C. and G. Kearsley, No. 46, | Fleet-Street. | M,DCC,XCII. |

Collation:—Duodecimo, pp. cxvi + 300; consisting of: Title-page (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]. (From the pagination one would expect a Half-title, but I think it highly improbable that there ever was one. The frontispiece was probably counted—an unusual arrangement.) Advertisements, *Preface*, *Contents*, pp. [iv]–xiv; *Biographical Anecdotes*, &c., pp. [xv]–cxv; advertisements of the *Beauties of Shakespeare*, &c., p. [cxvi]; Text of the *Beauties*, &c., pp. [1]–294; *A Catalogue of Dr. Johnson's Works*, pp. [295]–297; advertisements of various books published by the Kearsleys, pp. 298–300. The etched frontispiece of Johnson by Trotter, 'from the original drawing in the possession of Mr. John Simco', is from the same plate as that in the seventh edition; it bears the date 16 Nov. 1786. An engraved 'Facsimile of Dr. Johnson's hand Writing' appears (in the copy I have examined) opposite p. 1. The signatures are a–d_{12}, e_6, f_3, B–N_{12}, $[O]_6$. (The last six leaves, though clearly a separate gathering, are not signed.) In the one copy I have examined (Mr. D. Nichol Smith's), a (the Title-page) and a_4 (first leaf of the Contents) are shown by stubs and watermarks to be cancels. The cancels were probably made to insert on the title-page and on p. ix references to the biographical anecdotes from Boswell's *Life*, the inclusion of which is the distinctive feature of this edition. The additions are mentioned in a brief note on p. v (a_2), which does not appear to be a cancel, but the printer probably overlooked, or was not instructed to make, the necessary changes in the Title-page and Contents, and set them up as in the seventh edition. The seventh edition (of the same format and practically the same title) had presented on pp. xxvii–xlvi some alleged extracts from Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*; they were really from Robinson's *Table Talk* (see no. 69), and include some anecdotes not Boswell's. This edition adds, pp. li–lxxx, a series of extracts from the *Life*, and, pp. xcv–xcvii, the character of Johnson which had appeared in both the *Life* and the *Tour*.

Issued 'sewed', probably with wrapper. The price appears to have been 3*s*. 6*d*. The leaves of a copy in the possession of Mr. D. Nichol Smith (which have been trimmed) measure $6\frac{15}{16}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

107. *Dr. Johnson's Table-Talk.* 1798

Dr. Johnson's Table-Talk: | [*Short double rules*] | containing | Aphorisms | on | Literature, Life, and Manners; | with | Anecdotes | of | distinguished Persons: | selected and arranged | from | Mr. Boswell's Life of Johnson | [*Double rules*] | [*Motto from Bacon's Essays*] | [*Double rules*] | London: | [*Short double rules*] | Printed for C. Dilly in the Poultry. | [*Rule*]— M.DCC.XCVIII.

Octavo, pp. iv + 446 + one leaf; [A], Title-page and Advertisement, two leaves; B to FF_8 in eights, the last leaf of FF being the Table of Contents.

This consists of select passages from Johnson's conversation as reported in the *Life*, distributed under twenty-two heads, not arranged in alphabetical order, such as 'Marriage', 'Children', 'Education', 'Literature', &c. 'Mr. Boswell' is always introduced in the third person, and the prefaces to the conversations are usually given in abridged form by the editor. The book was by no means a surreptitious performance got out to compete with Boswell's work. It was published by Dilly, while the third edition of the *Life* was in the press, and in his Advertisement (dated March 1798) the anonymous editor says that 'this selection was undertaken in the life-time of Mr. Boswell, and with his cordial approbation: had that gentleman lived, it might probably have been rendered more acceptable to the Reader.' Many of Boswell's own observations (as given in the *Life*) are respectfully recorded as footnotes.

This collection was re-issued in two volumes in 1818 by J. Coxhead, London. The headings are distributed in alphabetical order, and a *Sketch of the Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* prefixed. On the title-page Boswell is called 'James Boswell, Esq. F.R.S.'

108. *Donne's Abridgement.* 1863

The Life of Samuel Johnson. Chiefly compiled from 'Boswell's Johnson.' By M. A. Donne. Published under the Direction of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. London, [1863]. 16mo, 1 vol.

I have not examined this work, my title being copied from the entry in the catalogue of the British Museum. I mention it because of the great interest it would have had for Boswell himself. Nothing

would have pleased him more than to know that his book in some way had contributed to 'promote Christian knowledge'.

109. *Alexander Main's Abridgement.* 1874

Life and Conversations of Dr. Samuel Johnson (founded chiefly upon Boswell). By Alexander Main. With a Preface by George Henry Lewes . . . London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly, 1874. Octavo, 1 vol.

This is a ridiculous piece of work which deserves notice only because of its connexion with the distinguished name of Lewes. He did not actually compile the book, but he can hardly be cleared of complicity in the atrocity. In his preface he says that he had always had a fanatical fondness for Boswell, but considered the book three times too long; that he had formed the project, first of abridging it, then (because of the general disfavour for abridgements) of rewriting it in such a way as only to sacrifice 'thin soup of Boswellian narrative and comment' while retaining 'the solid meat of Johnson' Never having found time to carry out this project himself, he suggested it to Mr. Main, who produced this work. Main rewrote the *Life* throughout, retaining only the conversations and letters in something like the form that Boswell gave them. For the 'thin soup of Boswellian narrative' he has substituted a running commentary of his own in the goody-goody style of a Sunday-school tract: '*That* is the letter of a perfect gentleman'; 'Is not that a naïve resolution?'; 'Samuel Johnson is perfectly safe, then'. This book should serve as a perpetual warning to all who think the *Life* could be improved by rewriting.

Translations of the Life of Johnson

Dr. Hill in 1887 expressed the general conviction of English scholars when he stated (*Life* v (*Hebrides*). 3 n.), 'I believe that in no language has a translation been published of the *Life of Johnson*.' Ten years later, in *Johnsonian Miscellanies* (ii. 147 n.), he modified this inclusive statement: he had been informed of an abridgement in Russian. This list can now be somewhat extended. Besides a complete translation into Swedish, of which two volumes are now on the market, I have also found an extremely interesting though incomplete abridgement in German, published only two years after Boswell's death.

110. *German Abridgement.* 1797[1]

Denkwürdigkeiten | aus | Samuel Johnson's Leben | von | James Boswell Esq. | [*Shaded Rule*] | Quo fit ut Omnis | Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella | Vita Senis. | [*Rule*] | Nach der zweiten englischen Ausgabe übersetzt. | Erster Theil. | Mit Johnson's Bildnisz. | [*Shaded Rule*] | Königsberg, | bey Friedrich Nicolovius. | 1797.

Collation:—Small octavo, pp. x + 502; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Dedication *An Herrn Hofrath H** in G***, pp. [iii–iv]; *Vorrede zur deutschen Uebersetzung*, pp. [v]–x; Text of *Samuel Johnsons Leben*, pp. [1]–502. There are no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between round brackets. The date and Johnson's age appear in the margins opposite the beginning of each year, but are not carried along. The signatures are A to Hh (thirty-one sheets, each 8 leaves), plus Ii (three leaves), preceded by five leaves carrying the Title-page and preliminary matter. (The first two leaves are unsigned, the third signed with a star *, the fourth signed *2. However, leaves one, two, three, and five seem to be printed on the same half-sheet of four leaves, and leaf four (*2) to have been printed separately and pasted in.) The frontispiece, 'Samuel Johnson. FFrick sculp: Berolini 1797', is not copied from Boswell's, but from some copy of the so-called 'Peel Portrait', now in the National Portrait Gallery. The book seems to have been issued without a Half-title.

This work seems to be excessively rare. After despairing of ever seeing it, I learned through an article by Mr. Leo Newmark in the New York *Nation*, 11 Sept. 1913 (xcvii. 232), that there was a copy in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. I wrote asking some questions about it, whereupon the Staatsbibliothek, through Dr. Wilhelm Poewe, Superintendent of the Loan Department, immediately forwarded the book to the Yale University Library for my study. It is with the deepest pleasure that I record my gratitude for this signally gracious act. This copy is now full-bound in calf; the leaves (which have been trimmed) measure $6\frac{5}{16}$ by $3\frac{13}{16}$ inches. It would probably not be difficult to unearth other copies in German libraries, but I know of none in America or England. Because of the importance of this work as the only contemporary translation of the

[1] See footnote, p. 63.

Life and the difficulty of obtaining access to it at first hand, I shall give a somewhat extended account of its contents.

The Preface and Dedication of this work are signed with the initials 'M.L.', who is shown by various works of reference to have been Dorothea Margarethe Liebeskind (1765–1822), for notes on whom see Goedeke's *Grundriss*, vi. 426. She was the daughter of Professor Wedekind of Göttingen (of which city the 'Herr Hofrath H**' of her dedication seems to have been a native), by her first marriage wife of the distinguished musician J. N. Forkel, whom she divorced to marry J. H. Liebeskind, a lawyer and politician. She began her career by publishing in 1784 an original novel (*Maria, eine Geschichte in Briefen*), but her chief claim to remembrance now is a long series of translations from the English which she brought out in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Her taste seems to have run to romances, especially the Gothic. Besides several lurid tales of unknown authorship, she translated Mrs. Inchbald's *A Simple Story*, Charlotte Smith's *Celestina*, *Marchmont*, and *Desmond*, Mrs. Radcliffe's *Sicilian Romance*, *Romance of the Forest*, *Mysteries of Udolpho*, and *The Italian* (strangely entitled 'Die Italienerin *oder der Beichtstuhl der Schwarzen Büssenden*'), and William Godwin's *Caleb Williams*. Just before turning her attention to Boswell, she had completed a translation of Paine's *Rights of Man*. The Dedication of her translation of the *Life* is dated 23 Jan. 1796. It must have proved less popular than romances, for the remaining 'Theile' seem never to have been printed.

This 'erste Theil' translates (with considerable abridgement) the first volume of Boswell's second edition. We may therefore suppose that, had the work been completed, there would have been two volumes more. In her 'Vorrede' she carefully enumerates the nature of her omissions. Boswell, she says, has combined 'literary biography' with biography in the more restricted sense. (She means, of course, the lists of publications at the beginning of each year: 'I find that in this year he wrote so-and-so'.) In her translation she has omitted all mention of Johnson's minor works. She has had 'the fixed purpose in view of giving a characteristic biography, which, without disappointing even the professed student of literature, might primarily afford instruction and amusement to the larger circle of the intelligent reading public'. She has dropped Boswell's two Advertisements, some 'ganz unbedeutende Nachrichten' (unspecified), and most of the notes, especially those 'in which the accuracy of many particulars furnished by other people to the author is tediously

debated'. Many of the letters (indeed, the greater part) which Boswell, 'in his almost superstitious reverence for every relic of the object of his worship thought worthy of immortality', she has omitted altogether or 'zusammengezogen'; i.e., abstracted in a few words of her own. She has exercised the same freedom with regard to the 'tedious investigations concerning usages of the Anglican Church and of theology in general, in which Johnson had constructed a system of his own, which, like many of his political opinions, furnishes a striking example of the tyranny of prejudices absorbed in youth over a mind by nature brilliant and enlarged. Although,' she adds, 'one is sometimes forced to marvel at the philosophic acuteness with which he was often able to defend thoroughly unphilosophical assertions.' (Frau Liebeskind, as is evident from everything she says *in propria persona*, was a 'philosopher', an emancipated female, a Rousseauist, and a good deal of a radical generally.) Of the extracts from *Prayers and Meditations* she has preserved only those passages 'which seemed especially to characterize the Man'. The 'Additions' prefixed to Boswell's first volume she has distributed in appropriate places, and 'from several prolix passages' has extracted only the essential. 'Aber bei alle dem habe ich mich der gewissenhaftesten Treue in Uebertragung des richtigen Sinnes, nicht nur was die Zeichnung, sondern auch selbst was das Colorit betrifft, beflissen.' To make amends, I suppose, for the omission of all discussion of Johnson's minor works in the text, she promises to insert in her last volume Boswell's complete catalogue of Johnson's writings, but in the original English, for 'the titles of all the compositions, often insignificant and in part forgotten, which Johnson inserted in various periodicals, are neither capable of translation nor in need of it'.

Boswell's book does not suffer from this abridgement so much as might be supposed. The passages in question are precisely those omitted in modern abridgements, and, as they occur largely in that part of the work which treats of Johnson's life before Boswell had met him, their suppression in a translation can hardly be regarded as a serious fault. Frau Liebeskind, moreover, displays in her preface considerable critical acumen, both with regard to her author and his book:

'Samuel Johnson belongs not simply to the literary world as a scholar, nor to Britons as an Englishman; he is as a Man an interesting object for the consideration of every cultured public.... Johnson was one of those rare scholars who, apart from their specifically literary activities, offer, through a mass of notable characteristics,

adequate materials for the biographer. What is rarer, what indeed is almost unique in its kind, he had the good fortune to find a biographer who was as accurate in observation as he was skilful in recording what he saw and heard—a gifted young man, who, possessed by an enthusiastic veneration, solicited his intimate acquaintance, and who, for almost half a lifetime, followed him about in all his doings, pen in hand, as it were; with the express object (perfectly well known to Johnson himself) of some day publishing his life. From these notes, which bear on their face the unmistakable stamp of authenticity, worked up after an enormous amount of research, in which he spared himself no trouble, and combined with generous contributions from Johnson's friends, resulted the present work, which seems to me, for this reason alone, to have a decided superiority over all the other lives of Johnson which have yet appeared.'

Indeed, Frau Liebeskind seems to have read fairly widely on her subject, for in at least one place (note on 'departed spirits' pp. 260–1) she shows that she has perused *Prayers and Meditations*, or, at any rate, some work quoting extracts from that book not found in Boswell. In spite of her industry, however, her work does not compare favourably with the translation of the *Tour* by Wittenberg. In a most cursory examination of the volume, I noticed, besides innumerable misspellings of proper names (which one expects in such a work), several errors in translation, some of them of little importance but others entirely destructive of the sense. For example: p. 25, 'Dieß thue ich, um euch *vor der Galeere zu sichern* (to save you from the gallows)'; p. 37, 'Ich sagte ihm, ich wäre[1] auf Christchurch meadow *spatzieren* (sliding) gewesen'; p. 73, 'Der Weg führte *durch zwei Haiden hin* (between two hedges)'; p. 152, 'Als ich ihm einmal gestand, daß ich zu Zeiten Anfälle von *Kinderei* (narrowness) hätte'; p. 165, 'Virgils *Schöpfer* (shepherd) wurde endlich mit der Liebe bekannt, und fand, daß *sie eine Bewohnerin* der Felsen ist (and found him a native of the rocks)'; p. 433, 'Ich verglich mich dabei mit einer *Meerenge* (isthmus), die zwei große Länder vereinigt.'

The following will serve as a favourable example of the whole:

'Ich weiß nicht, wie mir der alberne Gedanke in den Kopf kam, allein ich fragte ihn, "Sir, wenn Sie in einer Festung eingesperrt wären und ein neugebohrnes Kind mit Ihnen, was würden Sie thun?" Johnson. "Die Gesellschaft würde mir eben nicht gefallen." Boswell. "Aber würden Sie sich die Mühe nehmen es aufzuziehn?" Er schien eben nicht Lust zu haben, diese Materie fortzusetzen; als ich

[1] See footnote, p. 63.

aber auf meiner Frage bestand, antwortete er, "Nun ja doch, Sir, ich würde es, allein ich müßte alle Bequemlichkeiten haben. Wenn ich keinen Garten hätte, so würde ich eine Hütte auf dem Dache machen, und es dahin tragen, um frische Luft zu schöpfen. Ich würde es füttern und es viel waschen, und zwar mit warmem Wasser, um ihm Vergnügen zu machen, nicht mit kaltem Wasser, um es zu quälen." BOSWELL. "Aber, Sir, erschlafft nicht die Hitze?" JOHNSON. "Sie können wohl denken, daß ich nicht sehr heißes Wasser nehmen werde: ich würde das Kind nicht *brühen*"' (pp. 456–7).

The last sentence shows the use that there may be in studying translations: one sometimes learns thereby what his own tongue means. The English runs, of course, 'I would not *coddle* the child'. I have always read that hastily—as I find others have—to mean, 'I would not *pamper* the child'. But Frau Liebeskind has certainly grasped the sense of the passage, though the word she has chosen—'brühen (scald)'—misses all Johnson's wit: 'I would not have the water so hot as to *parboil* the child'.

Frau Liebeskind adds few notes of her own, but she is sometimes unable to restrain herself. She naturally cannot allow Johnson's remark on Frederick the Great to pass ('He writes just as you might suppose Voltaire's footboy to do'): 'Dieses plumpe Urtheil muß man einem Manne verzeihen, der oft etwas darin suchte, in der Plumpheit zu excelliren' (p. 244 n.). But she breaks out especially at Johnson's harsh judgement of Rousseau ('Three or four nations have expelled him; and it is a shame that he is protected in this country'): 'Die Uebersetzerin, welche Rousseau viele der glücklichsten ihrer einsamen Stunden dankt, und sich immer mit Entzücken an die erhabne Seelenschwärmerei zurück erinnern wird, wozu sein Emil, seine Heloise sie begeisterten, schreibt mit unwilligem Widerstreben dieses harte Urtheil ab' (p. 372).

III. *Russian Abridgement.* 1851

Джонсонъ и Босвелль. Картина Британскихъ литературныхъ нравовъ во второй половинѣ восемнадлатаго столѣтія. . . . Санктпетербургъ въ типографіи императорской академіи наукъ, 1865. (In Собраніе Сочиненій А. В. Дружинина, томъ четвертый.)

This was first published as a separate work in 1851. As I have not seen the first edition, I have given the title from Druzhinin's *Collected*

Works, 1865. The text of the Johnson-Boswell essay occupies pp. 7–245 of the fourth volume. It is divided into fifteen chapters, each furnished with headings giving a digest of the material. The work is an essay with very extensive quotations rather than a systematic abridgement. Material from both the *Tour to the Hebrides* and the *Life* is included, with commentary and notes by the translator. An account of Boswell's life subsequent to Johnson's death is added, and the final chapter consists of an independent attempt to evaluate the characters of Johnson and Boswell, with long extracts (in Russian) from Macaulay and Carlyle. I do not read Russian, but learned thus much about the book from portions of it kindly translated for me by Mr. A. Mill of the staff of the New York Public Library. Mr. L. Nemoy of the Yale University Library has also been kind enough to write out a careful translation of the material on p. 104 ; it translates the conversation between Johnson, Monboddo, and Boswell in *Hebrides* (*Life*, v.), pp. 78–80. The translation, or rather paraphrase, proves to be accurate but somewhat expanded ; not nearly so close to the words of the original as Wittenberg's translation.

Mr. Nemoy has also furnished me with some notes on Aleksandr Vasil'evich Druzhinin, extracted from the article on him in the Brockhaus-Effron *Bol'shaia Entsiklo-pediia*, xi. 190–1. He was born in 1824 in St. Petersburg, the son of a rich official. After serving some time in the army he turned to literature, and produced several successful novels. His best efforts, however, were directed towards literary criticism. Besides essays on Russian literature he published, mostly in the magazine *Sovremennik*, a series of articles on English writers—Crabbe, Richardson, Sheridan, Boswell, Johnson, Scott, Disraeli, and others. In 1856 he became editor-in-chief of the magazine *Biblioteka dlia Chteniia*, and gained in this position the warm friendship of Turgenev, Tolstoi, and other prominent writers of his time. After resigning his editorship because of ill-health, he continued to contribute essays on Russian and English literature, and undertook also a translation of Shakespeare, which was published in parts. He died in 1864. According to Brockhaus 'The main value of his works lies in his critical essays, though at present they have no more than historical significance. His obsession for the literary taste of Tory England made him a one-sided judge, and led him to attack bitterly all literary movements which did not agree with his sympathies. This carried him so far as to deny any artistic value in the works of Heine, George Sand, and Hugo.'

112. *Swedish Translation.* 1926

A monumental unabridged translation into Swedish is now in the process of publication. The first volume appeared at the end of November 1926, and a second (which brings the *Life* down to 1768) came out about a year later. When complete this translation will comprise five volumes of over five hundred pages each (six volumes if the translator includes the *Tour to the Hebrides*, as he tells me he hopes to do). The title is as follows :—

James Boswell, Samuel Johnsons Liv. Till Svenska, med Bibliografi, Inledning, Anmärkingar, och Register, av Harald Heyman, Fil. D:r. I Fem Delar, med talrika Illustrationer. Första Delen : 1709–1753 [Andra Delen : 1754–1768]. Stockholm, Albert Bonniers Förlag. 1926 [1927].

Octavo : vol. I, pp. cxcv + 360 ; vol. II, pp. xvi + 519. In wrappers, 15 kronor a volume.

This work is more than a translation ; it is the most ambitious and important edition of the *Life* since Hill's. It is the only edition at present before the public which has been able to draw for its annotation upon the rich results of Johnson-Boswell research during the last fifteen years, notably upon such important works as Reade's *Johnsonian Gleanings*, Chapman's edition of the *Tour to the Hebrides*, and Tinker's *Young Boswell* and *Letters of Boswell*. Dr. Heyman has been engaged upon his great task since 1923. His problem was a most difficult one ; to give a text which would satisfy the demands of the scholar, and at the same time prove attractive to the general Swedish reader, who knows very little about either Johnson or Boswell. The method he has chosen may briefly be described as an attempt to combine the essential principles of two editions so widely different as Hill's and Ingpen's. For the benefit of the ordinary reader, Ingpen's chapter-division has been followed, and all his illustrations carried over bodily. (It is a pity that these illustrations were taken at second-hand from the pages of Ingpen rather than from the originals ; in general the quality of the reproduction is inferior to that of the typography, which is extremely attractive.) Boswell's notes and a few from Malone's editions appear as footnotes, Dr. Heyman's own annotation being collected at the ends of the chapters. The text follows Hill's ; the annotation, though suggested largely by Hill, may fairly be called

independent. The peculiar need of the Swedish reader being identification of the persons mentioned in the text, a very large number of the notes consists of condensed biographies. There are occasionally slight omissions in the text (usually noted, but not invariably so), such as that of Johnson's school translations in verse, which would have broken the Swedish text awkwardly if left in English, and would have had no point if translated. Shorter snatches of English poetry are sometimes translated. Boswell's quotations in Latin and Greek, if they run to any length, are presented in Swedish, though the originals are sometimes given in the notes. A few of Boswell's own notes seem to have been dropped without notice. These omissions are, however, so slight that the work is justly called an unabridged translation.

Dr. Heyman has prefaced his first volume with nearly two hundred pages of introductory matter. In a preface he discusses the problem of presenting Johnson to a non-English-speaking public, and states the principles on which his work has been conducted. This is followed by a section called 'Bibliographical and Biographical Notes', which presents a fuller list of the important works in Johnsonian scholarship up to the end of 1925 than any single work in English known to me. There is an extended bibliography of the *Life* (based on Tedder and Fitzgerald, and incorporating some of their mistakes), of the *Tour to the Hebrides* (based on Chapman), notes on all the other eighteenth-century biographers of Johnson, with especially full notices of Mrs. Piozzi and Fanny Burney, a condensed bibliography of Johnson with articles on his major works, a summary of recent important Johnsoniana, a bibliography of works on Boswell, &c.,&c. A long critical essay (75 pages), 'Samuel Johnson och James Boswell', completes the prefatory matter, and serves to prepare Swedish readers for an intelligent reading of the book.

The second volume contains a brief supplement to the bibliographies of the first. The most interesting parts of the annotation are the biographical notices (some so long as to constitute independent articles), e.g. those on the Wartons (pp. 59–60), Baretti (pp. 66–7), Wilkes (pp. 221–7), Burke (pp. 330–2); especially those on Boswell's *Corsica* (pp. 437–41) and his sentimental attachments with Zélide and other ladies (pp. 451–64). Each volume has an index, modelled on Hill's, and comparable with his for fullness. It is to be hoped that the last volume will collect all these indexes.

I have asked my friend and colleague, Adolph B. Benson, Associate Professor of German and Scandinavian in Yale University, to give an

opinion on the style and accuracy of the translation. He writes as follows: 'Dr. Heyman's style is singularly lucid and attractive, the language rich in vocabulary, yet simple and appealing, not to say popular. The translation, especially the prose, is sensitively faithful to the original, and with the accuracy is combined a readableness which should refute any idea that Boswell's *Life of Johnson* is untranslatable. Heyman's work manages to bring out the universal element in his two favourite Englishmen. I have so far found no mistakes worth quibbling about.'

113. *Corrections and Additions.* 1793

The | Principal Corrections and Additions | to the first Edition of | Mr. Boswell's Life | of | Dr. Johnson. | [*Rule*] | London: | Printed by Henry Baldwin, | for Charles Dilly in the Poultry. | M DCC XCIII. | [Price Two Shillings and Sixpence.]

Collation:—Quarto, pp. ii + 42, consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Text of *The Principal Corrections and Additions*, &c., pp. [1]–42. There is a running headline throughout: *Corrections and Additions.*, and the pages from 2 to 42 are numbered in arabic numerals. The text is printed in double columns in type of the size used for the notes in the first edition of the *Life*, with footnotes in still smaller type. The signatures are B to F (five sheets, each four leaves), plus G (one leaf), the whole preceded by [A], one leaf, carrying the Title-page. The *Chronological Catalogue* of Johnson's Prose Works appears at the end, pp. 38–42. P. 40 is misprinted 04. There are several mistakes in the page references given for the new material, but they do not seem to have been typographical errors.

Issued 'stabbed', with blue paper wrappers. The copy in the Pembroke College Library, Oxford, in this state, wholly uncut, measures $11\frac{7}{8}$ by 9 inches. There is also a copy in the British Museum. Col. Isham has in his collection Boswell's presentation copy to Wilkes. The work is now difficult to obtain; when it turns up it is almost invariably bound in with a copy of the first edition of the *Life*. See the note following no. 114.

THE

PRINCIPAL CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF

MR. BOSWELL'S LIFE

OF

DR. JOHNSON.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HENRY BALDWIN,
FOR CHARLES DILLY IN THE POULTRY.
M DCC XCIII.
[Price Two Shillings and Sixpence.]

114. *New Edition.* 1924

See item 101. The *Principal Corrections and Additions*, with a separate title, or fly-title (*not* a facsimile of the original), occupy pp. 495–578 of the third volume. The text is printed in single column, and the page and volume references are adapted to the edition of which the reprint forms a part. Otherwise it seems to reproduce the original entirely and exactly.

The *Corrections and Additions* appeared simultaneously with the second edition of the *Life*. For the advertisement, see p. 168. This was the last book or pamphlet published by Boswell.

PART II

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

THE following gives the result of a fairly thorough search of the *Scots*, *London*, *Gentleman's*, and *European Magazines* between the dates 1758 and 1795. Various newspapers are also listed, but my newspaper entries are rather the result of close search within comparatively short periods, and of chance findings. The *London Chronicle* represents a special case; see the note under that heading. Many of the articles in the magazines were reprinted from the newspapers, but as the magazines are decidedly the more accessible I have generally mentioned both. The newspapers also copied a great deal from one another, but since files of eighteenth-century papers are only too rarely to be found I have thought it wise to allow considerable duplication, indicating, however, the place of original publication. The articles starred are attributed to Boswell on internal evidence only. When this in my own mind falls somewhat short of complete proof, I have indicated the fact by a query.

MAGAZINES

Scots Magazine

Boswell's file of the *Scots Magazine*, in which his own contributions were probably marked, was sold in the Auchinleck Sale of 1893. I have been unable to trace it beyond the first purchaser, a dealer.

Vol. XX (1758)

Month		Page
Aug.	An Evening-Walk in the Abbey-church of Holyrood-house. [*Such is the present time, now sober Eve*] . . (Reprinted, with textual variations, in *Original Poems*, ii. 68.)	420
Nov.	On hearing that the celebrated Mr. Theophilus Cibber, comedian, was drowned in his Passage to Ireland. To a Friend. [*'Twas hard indeed, 'twas wondrous hard*] . (Reprinted in *Original Poems*, ii. 74.)	587
Dec.	Epigram on a Marriage between a beautiful young Lady, and a coarse hulk of a Gentleman. [*An ox and ass together yok'd*] . . . . . (Reprinted in *Original Poems*, ii. 79.)	623

? A Contemplative Walk, at Moffat, on a Summer-night. A sketch, in imitation of Hervey's style. Signed 'Eugenio' 624

(That Boswell did publish prose essays thus early, we learn from his autobiographical memoir in *Europ. Mag.*, xix. 324. His friend, Johnston of Grange, with whom he 'had lived in intimacy more years than the Egyptian famine lasted' (*Erskine Corresp.*, p. 107), lived near Moffat, and he himself spent more time there than was good for him (see *Letters*, i. 107). He records his early affection for Hervey in *Life* v (*Hebrides*). 351. The style, especially of the footnote on Lockwood, seems to me Boswellian. Note also the similarity in title and tone with the 'Evening-Walk in the Abbey-church of Holyroodhouse'.)

Vol. XXIII (1761)

April Epitaph on the Rev. Mr. John Campbell, Minister at Kickarton (*sic*). [*In quiet peaceful silence here repose*] . 204

(Reprinted in *Original Poems*, ii. 86.)

Sept. *An Original Letter, from a Gentleman of Scotland to the Earl of *** in London 469

(Unequivocally referred to in the dedication of the *Ode to Tragedy*, published with the same pseudonym. See 'Bozzy and Yorick', *Blackwood's Magazine*, April, 1925.)

Vol. XXV (1763).

April Ode on an Engagement between the Rt. Hon. Lady B****, and a Turky-Cock 219

(Reprinted from *Erskine Corresp.*, p. 120.)

Vol. XXVIII (1766).

Jan. *Letter from Rome, dated Dec. 5 47

(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Jan. 9, 1766.)

„ *Letter, London, Jan. 11 47

(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Jan. 11, 1766.)

Feb. *Letter from Turin, Jan. 6 100

(Part of this appears in *Lond. Chron.*, Feb. 13, 1766.)

Vol. XXIX (1767)

March The H——n Cause. [*Alas! my poor brethren, poor sons of the laws*] 119

(Boswell's autograph manuscript of this piece is in the

possession of Mr. Oliver Barrett of Chicago.[1] See 'Three New Legal Ballads by Boswell', *Jurid. Rev.*, Sept. 1925.)

,, Extract of a letter from The Hague, March 1 . . 157
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, March 26, 1767.)

April Item dated April 18 214
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.* of that date.)

,, Extract of a letter from Mr. Boswell 217
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, April 16, 1767.)

,, Item dated London, April 11, regarding a conference between Signor Romanzo and the Earl of Shelburne . 221
('Signor Romanzo' was a pure invention of Boswell's. Reprinted from some newspaper, not the *Lond. Chron.*)

,, Letter from an English soldier in the Corsican service . 221
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, April 23, 1767.)

July On publications relating to the Douglas Cause . . 338
(Contains extracts of advertisements and reviews of *Dorando*, letters on the short-hand reporters, and part of Boswell's brief for the *Edinburgh Advertiser*.)

Sept. Verses on the equestrian statue of King Charles II in the Parliament Close being painted white, September, 1767. By the Author of Dorando 489
(Reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, Sept. 25, 1767.)

,, Extract of a letter from Civita Vecchia, Aug. 14 . . 493
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Sept. 24, 1767.)

Nov. Prologue at the opening of the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh. [*Scotland for learning and for arms renown'd*] . 599

Dec. Extracts from *The Essence of the Douglas Cause* . . 621

,, Advertisement against *Considerations on the Douglas Cause* 630
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Dec. 5, 1767.)

App. Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, Nov. 28 . . 702
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Dec. 5, 1767.)

Vol. XXX (1768)

April Item with regard to church bells sent to Corsica . . 215
(Reprinted from *Pub. Advt.*, April 19, 1768.)

[1] Since this was set up, Col. Isham has shown me the following entry in Boswell's journal for 1767:

'[Feb.] 14. Had composed song on Hamilton Cause. Lord Hales—very witty. But put it in the fire—you'll make yourself ennemys. He had frightened you, such is still your weakness. Shewed it to Sr. Adam [Fergusson], D. Hume &c. all lik'd it—no venom—No said D. H. 'Tis not in you. Sang it in Parliament House with Circle round you. Had the *vivida vis* of Wilkes. Resolved to follow your own Plan.'

July Correspondence between the Hon. Miss Primerose and the Author of *The Essence of the Douglas Cause* . . 347
(Reprinted from *Edin. Courant*, June 20, 22, and July 18, 1768.)
Article on the French invasion of Corsica, 'communicated by means of Mr. Boswell' 367
(This is probably only a translation.)

Aug. The controversy between the Hon. Miss Primerose and Boswell continued 410
(Reprinted from *Edin. Courant*, Aug. 10 and 29, 1768.)

Oct. The same concluded 539
(Reprinted from *Edin. Courant*, Oct. 31, 1768.)

Nov. Extracts from *The Essence of the Douglas Cause* . . 583

Dec. Memorial for a contribution in behalf of the Corsicans 625
(This had previously appeared in most of the newspapers.)

Vol. XXXI (1769)

July Item dated Edinburgh, July 12, on the celebration held at Bothwell Castle to celebrate Archibald Douglas's coming of age 389
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, July 18, 1769.)

Sept. Letter from James Boswell, Esq., giving an account of the Stratford Jubilee 453
(Reprinted from *Lond. Mag.* for the same month. The letter originally appeared in *Pub. Advt.*, Sept. 16, 1769.)

,, Verses in the character of a Corsican, at Shakespeare's Jubilee 488
(Reprinted from *Lond. Mag.* for the same month. The verses had already appeared in *Lond. Chron.*, Sept. 12, 1769. See also Part I, no. 46.)

Vol. XXXII (1770)

Aug. Notice of the decision of the Court of Session in the cause of the peerage of Caithness 456
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, July 31, 1770.)

Sept. An Imitation of Chaucer's Style. [*John whilome taught me to read Aristotle*] Signed 500

Vol. XXXIII (1771)

Sept. *An authentic account of General Paoli's tour to Scotland, Autumn 1771 481
(Reprinted from *Lond. Mag.* for the same month.)

Vol. XXXIV (1772)

April A sketch of the constitution of the Church of Scotland, and the state of parties in it at present . . . 187
(Reprinted from *Lond. Mag.* for the same month.)

May The same concluded 225
(Reprinted from *Lond. Mag.* for the same month. Notes have been added, not in the original, and the order of the speeches has been changed.)

Vol. XXXVI (1774)

Jan. Extracts from *The Decision of the Court of Session in the Matter of Literary Property* 9

Feb. The same continued 65

Sept. Some account of the travels of Mr. Bruce . . . 466
(Reprinted from *Lond. Mag.*, Aug. and Sept. 1774. The notes added are from certain articles by 'Philo', *Lond. Chron.*, xxxvi. 277.)

Vol. XXXVII (1775)

March *A short account of Alexander Lockhart . . . 134
(Reprinted from *Lond. Mag.* for the same month.)

App. *Letter signed 'Vetustus' condemning the affectation of calling the 'Parliament Close' the 'Parliament Square' 734
(Said to be reprinted from *Caled. Merc.*, but reference not given. Dated Jan. 26, 1776. Mentions Mickle's poem in *Original Poems*, ii. 137, 'Hermes' Harris, and the 'good old Poultry' in London.)

Vol. XXXVIII (1776)

Nov. *Remarks on the character of Mr. Hume . . . 578
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Nov. 25, 1776.)

Vol. XLI (1779)

May *Speeches in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, May 25, 1779 225

„ Questions concerning the making of cyder by Sir Alexander Dick, with answers by the Rev. Mr. Temple of Devonshire. Communicated by James Boswell, Esq. 232
(None of this was actually written by Boswell.)

June *Speeches in the General Assembly continued . . 309

July *The same continued 362

Aug. *The same continued 409
Sept. *The same continued 468

Vol. XLV (1783)

Jan. ? Letters from 'an old Freeholder' on nominal and fictitious votes 9

(For Boswell's firm and outspoken opposition, even in the face of his own interests, to the notorious procedure, then universal in Scotland, of creating nominal and fictitious votes, see Rogers's *Boswelliana*, pp. 133–5, *Letter to the People of Scotland* (1785), pp. 52–62, and the letter in *Edin. Advt.*, Jan. 21, 1785. In the previous October he had addressed the County of Ayr on this matter. The letters are said to have been 'first published in the Edinburgh newspapers in the months of Sept. and Oct. 1782'; i.e. at the very time of Boswell's address.)

Feb. ? The same continued 65

Vol. XLVI (1784)

March ? A serious address to freeholders upon liferents or wadsets of superiority 115
April ? The same concluded 177

Vol. XLVII (1785)

May Letter addressed to the people of Scotland concerning the bill for diminishing the number of the Lords of Session. Signed 257

(Reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, May 17, 1785.)

July *Address of the tenants of Auchinleck to the King on the Bill for diminishing the number of the Lords of Session 358

(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, July 7, 1785.)

Vol. XLVIII (1786)

April Letter addressed to the people of Scotland urging them to petition for the restoration of juries in civil cases. Signed 178

(Reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, April 11, 1786.)

Dec. *Ode to Edmund Malone (by John Courtenay), with an introductory note signed 'B.J.', probably by Boswell . 604

(Reprinted from *Gent. Mag.*, Jan. 1786.)

Vol. LII (1790)

App. Letter by Boswell enclosing General Paoli's speech to the General Assembly of Corsica 625
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Nov. 30, 1790.)

Vol. LIII (1791)

April Ode to Mr. Charles Dilly. Signed 192
(Reprinted from *Gent. Mag.*, April 1791.)

Vol. LIV (1792)

May Epigram on the pusillanimous conduct of the French Troops. Signed 243
(Reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, May 15, 1792.)

Vol. LV (1793)

May Verses on a lock of Miss B—D—N's hair. Signed . 242
(Reprinted from *Gent. Mag.*, May 1793.)

London Magazine

Boswell's connexion with this magazine was more intimate than with any other. From 1770 to 1783 he was a constant contributor and, indeed, a part owner, if what he says in his letters is to be taken literally, as he seems to have intended it should be. Writing to Garrick in 1771, he speaks of the *London Magazine* as a periodical in which he has 'some concern', and in 1775 he tells Temple he is 'a proprietor' (*Letters*, i. 183, 217). Beginning with July 1783 the magazine underwent reorganization, appearing in an 'improved and enlarged' form, and with a new editorial board. Boswell thereupon promptly wound up his series of essays, *The Hypochondriack*, and seems at the same time to have terminated close relationship with the magazine. The certainty, however, of his being a constant contributor during 1770–83 justifies a somewhat liberal attribution to him during that period of anonymous essays that seem to bear the marks of his style. Boswell's file of this magazine, in which his own contributions were probably marked, was sold in the Auchinleck Sale of 1893. I have been unable to trace it beyond the first purchaser, a dealer.

Vol. XXXVI (1767)

July Letter signed 'Probus' enclosing a letter of Lady Jane Douglas to Mr. Pelham 345
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, July 2, 1767.)

Oct. Letter signed 'Probus' enclosing letters by Mr. Pelham and Lady Jane Douglas 511
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Sept. 24, 1767.)

Nov. *Letter on foreign travel signed 'Britannus' . . 582
(Refers to Corsica, and quotes Johnson's *London*. It had previously appeared in *Caled. Merc.*, Nov. 28, 1767, which seems also to have copied it from some other source.)

Dec. Prologue on the opening of the Theatre Royal at Edinburgh 646
(A somewhat different version from the 'imperfect' copy of the *Lond. Chron.*, Dec. 19, 1767.)

Vol. XXXVII (1768)

May ? Letter signed 'An English Merchant' urging aid for the Corsicans 253
(Reprinted from *Pub. Advt.*, May 3, 1768, and later used by Boswell as No. II of *British Essays*. For conjectures as to authorship, see p. 80.)

Dec. Memorial for a contribution in behalf of the brave Corsicans 655
(This had previously appeared in most of the newspapers.)

Vol. XXXVIII (1769)

Sept. Letter signed 'James Boswell' on the Stratford Jubilee 451
(Reprinted from *Pub. Advt.*, Sept. 16, 1769.)

„ *An account of the armed Corsican chief at the Stratford Jubilee, with verses in the character of a Corsican 455
(The verses had previously appeared in *Lond. Chron.*, Sept. 12, 1769. See also Part I, no. 46.)

Vol. XXXIX (1770)

Aug. On the Profession of a Player. Essay I . . . 397

Sept. On the Profession of a Player. Essay II . . . 468

Oct. On the Profession of a Player. Essay III . . . 513
(See *Letters*, i. 183.)

Vol. XL (1771)

Sept. *An authentick account of General Paoli's tour to Scotland, Autumn 1771 433

Vol. XLI (1772)

March 'Sketch' of Gray, with a 'character' of the poet (by Temple) 140
(See *Letters*, i. 217.)

April A sketch of the constitution of the Church of Scotland, . . . with specimens of the oratory of some of the most distinguished members of that Church . . . 181
(See *Life* v (*Hebrides*). 213.)
May The same continued 237
June *Sceptical observations upon a late Character of Dr. Robertson (in the magazine for April) 281
(See Boswell's remarks on Robertson in the Church of Scotland articles in the magazine for April, p. 184. These strictures also quote a 'striking passage in the speech of that manly orator the Reverend Mr. Freebairn, in the last London Magazine'—i. e. in Boswell's own reports of the debates in the General Assembly.)

Vol. XLII (1773)

April Debates in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 188
May The same continued 227
June The same continued 296
July The same continued 340
Aug. The same concluded 396
(The debates really conclude in the number for July. The last article, which contains only a speech by the Rev. Charles Nisbet, was certainly contributed by Boswell, but may not be his composition.)

Vol. XLIII (1774)

Jan. Notes of Mr. Samuel Johnson's tour to Scotland and the Western Isles 26
(Two paragraphs of this are marked by Boswell as his in *Lond. Chron.*, Nov. 9, 1773, where they are reprinted.)
Feb. *An Essay on Masquerade; with an account of one given at Edinburgh by Lady Macdonald, Jan. 15, 1773 . . 80
(Boswell was certainly at this masquerade; see *Westminster Magazine*, Jan. 1773, Mr. Fitzgerald's *Life of Boswell*, i. 109, and *Edin. Advt.*, Jan. 19, 1773. The whole account is patently Boswellian in style and thought. It is somewhat amusing that this highly adulatory account of Sir Alexander Macdonald should have appeared after the disillusioning experience of the tour to the Hebrides. It is clear that Boswell had had a very high opinion of the baronet; see

entry under *Lond. Chron.*, April 7, 1770. This essay must have been written early in 1773, and for some reason delayed in publication.)

May *Memoirs of the Edinburgh Theatre, during the winter season 1773–4 213

(This essay, of the greatest importance in determining the authorship of *A View of the Edinburgh Theatre during the Summer Season, 1759*, seems to me unquestionably by Boswell. It praises Digges (see poem to him by Boswell in *Original Poems*), speaks of the 'shock which credit suffered . . . by the late numerous bankruptcies' (see Part I, no. 49), remarks that 'the lawyers in the court of session murmured on account of a famine of fees', and closes with a reference to Goldsmith.)

June Letter communicating an original song by Dr. Goldsmith. Signed 295

Aug. Some account of the very extraordinary travels of the celebrated Mr. Bruce 388

(Marked by Boswell as his in *Lond. Chron.*, Sept. 8 and Oct. 4, 1774, where this and the following article are reprinted.)

Sept. The same concluded 429

Vol. XLIV (1775)

March *A short account of Alexander Lockhart, Esq., Dean of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, promoted to the Bench in 1775, after having been upwards of fifty-two years in eminence at the Bar 142

(It is more than probable that this article about a Scots jurist in an English magazine would have been written by the Scots editor, especially if he happened to be an intimate acquaintance of Lockhart's.)

May Remarks on the life and writings of . . . Gray, with a Character of him originally published in the London Magazine, adopted by Mr. Mason, and now illustrated with notes 215

(In *Letters*, i. 217, Boswell speaks of Temple's 'character' as having been 'placed by the hands of Mason upon the top of Gray's pyramid as a suitable *apex*'. This review, published two months later, concludes with the same sentence: 'placed by the hands of Mason as an *apex* upon the top of the *monument of Gray*'.

Vol. XLV (1776)

July ? An account of the Chief of the Mohock Indians who lately visited England 339

(This article is accompanied by an engraved portrait of the Mohawk chieftain, Joseph Brant, which is said to have been made 'from an original drawing in the possession of James Boswell, Esq.'.)

Vol. XLVI (1777)

Jan. *Observations on the character of David Hume . . 22

(Reprinted with slight changes from *Lond. Chron.*, Nov. 25, 1776. The letter there is signed 'An Edinburgh Correspondent', and was in reply to a letter from Aberdeen published in *Lond. Chron.* immediately after Hume's death. The republication here as an original composition with the heading 'To the Editor of the London Magazine' (not usual when articles were copied from newspapers), and with slight but careful changes to make it fit its new location, points towards Boswell, who was certainly the 'Edinburgh correspondent' of the magazine. The observations on Hume's religious principles are certainly characteristic of him, and the piece contains a long quotation from his favourite *Night Thoughts*.)

Oct. The Hypochondriack, No. I. Introductory . . . 491

Nov. The Hypochondriack, No. II. On Fear[1] . . . 545

Dec. The Hypochondriack, No. III. On the Irrationality of War 613

Vol. XLVII (1778)

Jan. The Hypochondriack, No. IV. On Excess . . 29

Feb. The Hypochondriack, No. V. On Hypochondria . . 58

March The Hypochondriack, No. VI. On Hypochondria . 105

April The Hypochondriack, No. VII. On Conscience . . 171

May The Hypochondriack, No. VIII. On Luxury . . 198

June The Hypochondriack, No. IX. On Youth and Age . 274

July The Hypochondriack, No. X. On Truth . . . 316

Aug. The Hypochondriack, No. XI. On Love . . . 362

Sept. The Hypochondriack, No. XII. On Love . . . 388

Oct. The Hypochondriack, No. XIII. On Love . . . 457

[1] Boswell's essays have no titles in the original. My list is partially my own, partially based upon that in Dr. Margery Bailey's doctoral dissertation on *The Hypochondriack* in the Yale Library. She has since revised and published this work. See Part III, no. 25.

Nov. The Hypochondriack, No. XIV. On Death . . 508
Dec. The Hypochondriack, No. XV. On Death . . . 532

Vol. XLVIII (1779)

Jan. The Hypochondriack, No. XVI. On Death . . . 21
Feb. The Hypochondriack, No. XVII. On Cookery . . 53
March The Hypochondriack, No. XVIII. On Cookery . . 99
April The Hypochondriack, No. XIX. On Government . 177
May The Hypochondriack, No. XX. On Extremes in Civilization 196
June The Hypochondriack, No. XXI. On Quotation . . 243
July The Hypochondriack, No. XXII. On Quotation . . 293
Aug. The Hypochondriack, No. XXIII. On Conversation . 339
Sept. The Hypochondriack, No. XXIV. On Faults in Others and in Ourselves 388
Oct. The Hypochondriack, No. XXV. On Relaxation . . 436
Nov. The Hypochondriack, No. XXVI. On Thought . . 484
Dec. The Hypochondriack, No. XXVII. On Revision . . 531

Vol. XLIX (1780)

Jan. The Hypochondriack, No. XXVIII. On Self-criticism by Authors 5
Feb. The Hypochondriack, No. XXIX. On Pity . . . 52
March The Hypochondriack, No. XXX. On Drinking . . 100
April The Hypochondriack, No. XXXI. On Drinking . . 148
May The Hypochondriack, No. XXXII. On Drinking . . 197
June The Hypochondriack, No. XXXIII. On Drinking . 245
July The Hypochondriack, No. XXXIV. On Good Temper in Argument 299
Aug. The Hypochondriack, No. XXXV. On Imitation . . 348
Sept. The Hypochondriack, No. XXXVI. On Living in the Country 398
Oct. The Hypochondriack, No. XXXVII. On Living in the Country 445
Nov. The Hypochondriack, No. XXXVIII. On Living in the Country 492
Dec. The Hypochondriack, No. XXXIX. On Hypochondria 541

Vol. L (1781)

Jan. The Hypochondriack, No. XL. On Pleasure . . 39
Feb. The Hypochondriack, No. XLI. On Marriage . . 53
March The Hypochondriack, No. XLII. On Marriage . . 109

April The Hypochondriack, No. XLIII. On Marriage . . 156
May The Hypochondriack, No. XLIV. On Prudence . . 204
June The Hypochondriack, No. XLV. On Children . . 252
July The Hypochondriack, No. XLVI. On Children . . 308
Aug. The Hypochondriack, No. XLVII. On the New Freezing Discovery 357
(Reprinted from *Pub. Advt.*, June 2, 1770.)
Sept. The Hypochondriack, No. XLVIII. On Sleep and Dreams 405
Oct. The Hypochondriack, No. XLIX. On Identification by Numbers 487
(Reprinted from *Pub. Advt.*, Jan. 22, 1768.)
Nov. The Hypochondriack, No. L. On Learning . . . 509
Dec. The Hypochondriack, No. LI. On Suicide . . . 557

Vol. LI (1782)

Jan. The Hypochondriack, No. LII. On the Superiority of the Present Age 33
Feb. The Hypochondriack, No. LIII. On Words . . 82
March The Hypochondriack, No. LIV. On Religion . . 135
April The Hypochondriack, No. LV. On Religion . . 177
May The Hypochondriack, No. LVI. On Riches . . 232
June The Hypochondriack, No. LVII. On Riches . . 290
July The Hypochondriack, No. LVIII. On Hospitality . 309
Aug. The Hypochondriack, No. LIX. On Flattery . . 357
Sept. The Hypochondriack, No. LX. On Dedications . . 405
Oct. The Hypochondriack, No. LXI. On Dedications . . 452
Nov. The Hypochondriack, No. LXII. On Ridicule . . 502
Dec. The Hypochondriack, No. LXIII. On Hypochondria . 550

Vol. LII (January–June, 1783)

Jan. The Hypochondriack, No. LXIV. On Change . . 5
Feb. The Hypochondriack, No. LXV. On Time . . . 59
March The Hypochondriack, No. LXVI. On Diaries . . 108
April The Hypochondriack, No. LXVII. On Memory . . 156
May The Hypochondriack, No. LXVIII. On Executions . 203
(Consists mainly of a letter printed with the signature 'Mortalis' in *Pub. Advt.*, April 26, 1768. Boswell here dates the letter April 25.)
June The Hypochondriack, No. LXIX. On Swearing . . 289

Vol. I, New Series (July–December, 1783)

Aug. The Hypochondriack, No. LXX. Conclusion . . 123

Vol. II, New Series (January–June, 1784)

March Letter to the Bishop of Derry on the subject of the Union of Ireland with Great Britain. Dated Dec. 15, 1779 and Signed 191

Vol. IV, New Series (January–June, 1785)

April Letter dated Jan. 18, 1785, and signed, referring to a letter which had appeared in the *St. James's Chronicle*, and denying its authorship 247
(Reprinted from *St. James's Chron.*, but date not given.)

Gentleman's Magazine

It is difficult to determine the extent of Boswell's contribution to this periodical. Apparently during the time of his connexion with the *London Magazine* (i. e. up to 1784) he wrote little for other magazines, and after that time found himself too busy to write much for periodicals. This list is probably far from complete.

Vol. XXXVII (1767)

April Extract of a letter from Mr. Boswell 187
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, April 16, 1767)

Vol. XLI (1771)

Aug. ? An Essay on Translation. Signed 'D.Z.' . . . 349
(The pagination is erratic; this page should bear the number 353. The essay, the first part of which is in exactly the style of *The Hypochondriack*, is a defence of Mickle's *Lusiad*, a work which Boswell was much interested in. See Mickle's *Dissertation on the Lusiad*, Chalmers's Poets (1810), xxi. 622. I hesitate to pronounce it Boswell's only because of the somewhat technical character of the conclusion, an investigation of 'Sentimental Harmony', i. e. the relation of the sound of words to their sense.)

Vol. XLVII (1777)

Nov. ? Letter dated Nov. 1, and signed 'Humanus', enclosing an extract from Mickle's notes on the *Lusiad* ('Crusades') 532

„ ? The same, dated Dec. 10, with another extract ('Particular Providence') 591
(The letters are too brief to found an argument on. I include them because of their close connexion with the preceding entry.)

Vol. LV, Part I (1785)

May *Letter expressing disappointment that the 'new edition of the Biographical Dictionary' does not include certain Scots authors. Signed 'J.B.' 359

Part II

July ? Strictures on Dr. Johnson as an apologist for Murderers, i.e. Savage and Baretti. Signed 'Querist' . 497

(This letter practically makes the direct charge of murder against Baretti, and maintains that Johnson was wrong in defending him. Baretti attributed it, with three other letters in the same volume of *Gent. Mag.* (pp. 608, 675, and 760), to John Bowle, whom he violently attacked in his *Tolondron*. In an obituary of Baretti (*Gent. Mag.*, lix. 470) the question of the authorship of these letters was raised, whereupon (lx. 1127) the following note appeared: 'J.B. desires to inform the memorialist of Joseph Baretti that the first of the two letters (so severely remarked on in the *Tolondron*) which appeared in our Magazine under the signature of Querist, was *not* written by Mr. Bowle, but by a gentleman, who, after a thorough investigation of the whole business, thought himself justified in asserting, that "Baretti was guilty of murder in the streets of London".' In *Gent. Mag.*, lx. 1194, 'Vigorniensis' queried whether 'J.B.' were not 'the gentleman who appeared at the Stratford Jubilee *with his name written in large letters upon his cap*?' If so, he thought it a pity that gentleman should have changed his mind a *third* time, for it was known that, although he had at first thought Baretti criminal, he had 'upon mature consideration . . . changed that opinion, and in a very candid manner acknowledged to Mr. Baretti his error, expressing a wish that in future he might be numbered amongst his friends. The letter on this subject I have seen, and believe to be still in existence.' So far as I can discover, 'J.B.' made no reply to this. There appeared, however, in *Gent. Mag.* for July 1791 two essays unmistakably Boswell's over the signature 'Querist'. The mutual dislike of Boswell and Baretti is well known. It is best illustrated by Baretti's notes in the Johnson-Thrale correspondence, and Dr. Campbell's assertion (April 1, 1775) that both Murphy and Mrs. Thrale had heard Boswell express a hope that Baretti would be hanged (*Diary*, p. 52). There are, however, difficulties in accepting the piece

as Boswell's. 'Querist' says, 'Let us consider the circumstances under which the Doctor is supposed to have composed the short speech which Savage spoke before sentence was passed upon him.' Is it possible that in 1785 Boswell could have believed that Johnson wrote a speech for Savage in 1727—ten years before the two met? John Nichols, who of course knew who 'Querist' was, does not exonerate Bowle. In his notes on that gentleman (*Lit. Anec.* vi. 183) he speaks of certain 'Essays in the Gentleman's Magazine, imputed to him' as causing the quarrel with Baretti.)

Sept. Letter to the Bishop of Derry concerning the Union of Ireland with Great Britain. Dated Dec. 15, 1779, and signed 741

(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Sept. 10, 1785. It first appeared in *Lond. Mag.*, March 1784.)

Dec. ? Letter dated Oct. 25, 1785, and signed 'Byblius', concerning Dr. Johnson, Boswell's *Hebrides*, and the promised *Life* 942

(Reprinted from *St. James's Chron.* See *post*, p. 261.)

Vol. LVI, Part I (1786)

Jan. *Letter signed 'B. J.' enclosing an *Ode to Edmund Malone* (by John Courtenay) 66

(The first stanza ends, 'No Burke pours out a stream of wit, No Boswell joys o'er wine'. 'B. J.' speaks of the author as 'a gentleman well known in the political world, who has long been deservedly admired for the happiest vein of wit and humour'.)

Feb. *A Sentimental Essay on Death, signed 'Memory' . 127

(See the note on the next entry.)

March Observations and Reflections on John Gillies' *History of Greece*, signed 'Memory' 237

(On p. 144 the editors began a review of this work. These 'Observations' are prefaced by the following editorial note: 'We are interrupted in our regular examination of this work by the following communication from a valuable correspondent, whose signature will readily be recognized as the friend and biographer of Johnson—*aut Erasmus* (we are tempted to add) *aut Diabolus*.' This note was probably made by John Nichols himself, perhaps with Boswell's concurrence. At any rate he made no disclaimer.)

The 'Sentimental Essay on Death', published with the same pseudonym, is patently Boswellian in theme and style.)

April Letter dated March 9, and signed, denying that Lord Macdonald had forced him to suppress certain passages in the *Tour to the Hebrides* 285

(This, like the following, had previously appeared in the newspapers. See *post*, p. 261.)

,, Letter dated April 17, and signed, replying to the postscript of Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes* 285

(Previously printed in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, April 17, 1786. Inserted as a note in the third edition of *Hebrides* (*Life* v. 245).)

Part II

Aug. *Epitaph on Soame Jenyns, with a note signed 'Mercutio' [*Here lies a little, ugly, nauseous elf*] 696

(This, a retaliation for Jenyns' epitaph on Johnson, is commonly attributed to Boswell, who reprints it with approval in *Life*, i. 316 n. 2. 'Mercutio's' note, in the Boswellian manner, asks the editor to publish it, as 'an incorrect copy got into the papers'.)

Vol. LVIII, Part I (1788)

Jan. ? On Mr. Mason's abuse of the late Dr. Johnson in the Memoirs of Billy Whitehead [*While Johnson spoke, poor Mason's wrath was dumb*] 62

(In exactly the same spirit as the epitaph on Jenyns.)

Vol. LIX, Part II (1789)

Oct. ? Letter dated 'Edinburgh, Oct. 8' and signed 'Eusebius', illustrating the proper observance of the Sabbath by the account of one pleasantly spent in a village in Westmoreland 899

(See the note on the next entry.)

Nov. ? Letter dated 'Edinburgh, Nov. 9' and signed 'Eusebius', contrasting unfavourably the ascetic life of Blaise Pascal with that of the benevolent clergyman of Westmoreland 974

('Eusebius's first letter was occasioned by the communication (p. 793) by 'Pascal' of a paper, which later turned out to be by Lord Kames, on the benefits of a strict observance of the Sabbath. Boswell was probably not in Edinburgh on Oct. 8, 1789, but he certainly was in Westmoreland in the summer of

that year. 'Eusebius' represents himself as 'born and bred a Presbyterian, but having little of the sour leaven of fanaticism in [his] composition'. He reproduces the sermon at length, in true Boswellian fashion, and draws an idyllic picture (obviously imitated from *The Vicar of Wakefield*) of the innocent pleasures of a country Sabbath in England. In taking leave of the clergyman, he speaks of him as 'one for whom I was disposed to feel the warmest, the most fraternal affection; and I look upon this day, which has procured me the acquaintance of so valuable a character, as one of the most fortunate of my life'.

If this essay stood by itself, I should unhesitatingly pronounce it Boswell's. But the second, on Pascal, is not peculiarly Boswellian, and in speaking of Pascal's 'fanaticism' seems inconsistent with the praise of Pascal in *Life*, iii. 380. For the opinions expressed in both essays, however, abundant parallels can be found in the two essays on Religion in *The Hypochondriack*. On p. 1070 'Pascal' made a reply to 'Eusebius', defending the 'rational piety' of Lord Kames. Something in the tone of these four essays, the use of Lord Kames's article, and the strange occurrence of 'Pascal' both as a subject and a pseudonym, make me suspect that Boswell wrote them all. It would be quite characteristic of him to present both sides of an argument in this fashion. Note, p. 1070, that 'Pascal' speaks of the 'very well-written and well-intended letters from Eusebius'.

Vol. LX, Part II (1790)

Sept. ? Obituary of David Ross, the player 864
('Mr. Boswell' plays a suspiciously prominent part in the account.)

Supp. Letter dated Dec. 24, transmitting a translation of Gen. Paoli's speech in the General Assembly of Corsica. Signed 1174
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Nov. 30, 1790.)

Vol. LXI, Part I (1791)

April Ode to Mr. Charles Dilly [*My cordial friend*]. Signed 367

June Continuation of the same [*And guests has he*], with a note dated 'Great Portland-street, June 22.' Signed . 564

Part II

July *Two Addresses, 'To the Man of Letters', and 'To the Man of Fashion', signed 'Querist' 631

(The first of these is almost a verbal repetition of No. XXVII of *The Hypochondriack*, in which Boswell laments the practice of so altering subsequent editions of a book that the first is rendered of little value. He suggests here that the author ought in his preface to mark 'every substantial alteration', and also to provide a list of the dates of all preceding editions. He himself, it will be remembered, had the 'Corrections and Additions' to the second edition of the *Life* separately printed for owners of the first. The second 'Address' begs some one to furnish him a list whereby he can 'distinguish the several colours which, in their several seasons, are worn by the fair and fashionable'. The chief importance of these trifling but unmistakably Boswellian productions is that the pseudonym under which they are published is that of the highly important attack on Baretti, lv. 497.)

Vol. LXII, Part I (1792)

Jan. Letter dated Jan. 16, and signed, defending the justice of Johnson's 'animadversion' upon the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Gastrell for cutting down Shakespeare's mulberry tree . 18

(In reply to a remark in the obituary notice of Mrs. Gastrell, lxi. 1159.)

„ ? Letter dated Jan. 10, and signed 'Philalethes', defending Malone's *Shakespeare* 41

(This ascription rests on no striking internal evidence, but rather on the general tone of the article as compared with Boswell's letters to Malone during 1790 and 1791. At the time the edition appeared he certainly wrote notices of it for the newspapers. See *Letters*, ii. 412, 422 (where 'P.A.' must stand for 'Public Advertiser'), and especially p. 427.)

Part II

Nov. *Obituary of Ackerman, keeper of Newgate . . . 1062

(A full third of the notice consists of a rather obtrusive reference to Boswell.)

Supp. ? Letter dated 'Dublin, Oct. 5', and signed 'Z', recommending that some friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds publish his life and a complete edition of his writings . 1200

(Not strikingly Boswellian in style, but very suspicious in content. Boswell certainly planned to write a *Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds*. See *post*, p. 308. Moreover, this letter ends with a flattering reference to Boswell's *Corsica*.)

Vol. LXIII, Part I (1793)

May On observing a lock of Miss B—D—N's Hair separated from her Head-dress, and hanging towards the Author [*Wild Furies with dishevel'd locks are drawn*]. Signed 463

('Miss B—D—N' was probably a relative of Henry Baldwin, who printed the first three editions of the *Life*.)

Part II

Sept. ? Letter dated Sept. 7, and signed 'J.B.', defending Dr. William Fordyce Mavor's *New Description of Blenheim* 801

(The style and content seem to me Boswellian.)

Nov. Letter dated 'Great Portland-street, Nov. 16, 1793', replying to a letter by Anna Seward (lxiii. 875) on the occasion of Johnson's writing the 'Verses on a Sprig of Myrtle'. Signed 1009

Vol. LXIV, Part I (1794)

Jan. Letter dated 'Great Portland-street, Jan. 20', replying to a second letter by Miss Seward (lxiii. 1098) in the matter of Johnson's verses. Signed 32

March ? Letter dated 'March 21', and signed 'G. S.', vindicating Boswell from a charge of inaccuracy in his *Corrections and Additions* 197

(The style is sufficiently Boswellian, but one would have expected him to make the defence actually advanced by another correspondent, 'Scrutator', p. 198.)

European Magazine

My search of this magazine has convinced me that Boswell published little there directly. The extensive contributions in biographical anecdote by Isaac Reed and Malone may, however, contain material actually furnished by him.

Vol. II (1782)

Aug. *Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, July 23, describing the spirited behaviour of Sir William Forbes as a juror. 155

(See *Letter to the People of Scotland*, 1785, p. 107. This paragraph must have been copied from some newspaper.)

Vol. V (1784)

April *Letter dated 'Edinburgh, April 19, 1784', and signed 'J. B.', communicating a correspondence between John Garden of Brechin and Archbishop Secker concerning

Norman Sievwright, an Episcopal minister in Edinburgh 250

(The subject-matter of the letter is one that would greatly have interested Boswell.)

Vol. VI (1784)

Aug. Extract from a review of Anna Seward's *Louisa* . . 106

(A paragraph imbedded in a long review said (vii. 106) to have been sent in by an unknown correspondent from Bath. The author says the paragraph had 'been given in the Papers', and credits it to 'the celebrated Mr. Boswell'. I have been unable to find the rest of the article.)

Vol. IX (1786)

June Two letters relating to *The Tour to the Hebrides* . . 397

(Reprinted from the newspapers or *Gent. Mag.* lvi. 285.)

Vol. XVII (1790)

Feb. ? A note on Goldsmith's *Traveller*, with an extract from the *Respublica Hungariae*, showing that it was George Zeck, not Luke, who was tortured with the iron crown . 85

(See *Life*, ii. 7.)

April Verses on the statue of Charles II in the Parliament Close at Edinburgh. Signed 312

(First printed, as 'by the Author of Dorando', in *Edin. Advt.*, Sept. 25, 1767. If Boswell was responsible for this republication, he makes here his sole direct admission that he wrote *Dorando*.)

Vol. XIX (1791)

May *Memoirs of James Boswell, Esq., with a portrait . 323

(These memoirs, from unmistakable internal evidence, have always been regarded as by Boswell himself, and, indeed, form the basis of his biography.)[1]

June *The same concluded 404

Vol. XX (1791)

July Ode to Mr. Charles Dilly 73

(Reprinted from *Gent. Mag.*, April 1791)

Vol. XXI (1792)

May Epigram on the pusillanimous conduct of the French National Troops against the Austrians at Tournay . 393

(Reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, May 15, 1792.)

[1] I have reprinted them in my Introduction.

Vol. XXVIII (1795)

July Letter to John Wilkes, urging him to attempt to secure the pardon of two Irishmen condemned for murder. Dated 'Edinburgh, March 1, 1769', and signed . . 20

(As this letter is prefaced by a note signed 'X', who says he 'does not exactly know whether' the letter was 'by or in the character of the late Mr. Boswell', there has been some doubt as to its authenticity. I am inclined to think it genuine, though it was obviously not transcribed from Boswell's autograph. I do not see how, before any of Boswell's letters to Wilkes had been published, any one could so successfully have caught the bantering tone in which they are invariably composed, including even the characteristic reference to Brutus and Caesar. The professed 'patriotism' is, of course, not at all in Boswell's usual vein, but it is clearly jocular.)

NEWSPAPERS

London Chronicle

The Yale University Library possesses Boswell's own marked file of this newspaper from January 1767 to December 1775 inclusive. The first three volumes, i.e. January 1767 to July 1768, are provided with manuscript indexes in which Boswell has carefully recorded whether the marked items are 'facts' or 'inventions'. Unless something is said to the contrary, it is to be assumed that everything I have recorded during that period was marked and indexed by Boswell himself. I have added such other articles as I have happened upon for the other years, using for these my usual system of notation. See the note at the beginning of this section, *ante*, p. 215. I have not, however, included the various articles headed 'Corsican Gazette' and 'Corsican Intelligence,' because, though Boswell furnished and probably translated them, he has not marked or indexed them as his own. The *London Chronicle* was published three times a week; the date I give is that on which the paper appeared. When the article is short or not easily found, I have added to the page number a letter designating the column (a=1st column, b=2nd column, etc.).

Vol. XIX (January–June, 1766)

Jan. 9 *'Extract of a letter from Rome, Dec. 5, 1765' . 32

Jan. 11 *Mr. Boswell's compliment to Paoli, on being presented to him . . . . . 40 b

Jan. 14 *Description of Paoli, and account of the gifts he made Mr. Boswell (two paragraphs) . . . 48 b

Jan. 16 *Notice of Mr. Symonds's intention of visiting Corsica . . . . . 56 b

Jan. 18 *Notice of Mr. Symonds's meeting Mr. Boswell . 64 b

Jan. 23 *'Foreign Intelligence, Florence, Dec. 16' . . 73

Feb. 6 *'Extract of a letter from Genoa, Jan. 2' . . 128

Feb. 11 *'Extract of a letter from Leghorn, Jan. 3' . . 144

Feb. 13 *'Extract of a letter from Turin, Jan. 6' . . 152
(Plainly copied into the *Chronicle* from some other source. The whole article, including a long paragraph here omitted, appears in *Scots Mag.*, Feb. 1766.)

Feb. 15 *Notice of Boswell's arrival in London . . . 160 b
(This had appeared in *Lloyd's Even. Post* for Feb. 14, 1766.)

April 8 *Notice of an attempt to assassinate Paoli, and that Rousseau plans to write an history of Corsica . 336 a

May 3 *'Extract of a letter from Lucca, April 5' . . 422 c

Vol. XX (July–December, 1766)

Sept. 27 ?'Postscript' signed 'A Country Gentleman' congratulating the merchants who had appealed for a removal of the embargo against Corsica . . 312 a

Sept. 30 *'Extract of a letter from Rome, June 19' enclosing an alleged letter from Voltaire, announcing his intention to visit Corsica . . . . . 320 b

Oct. 4 *Announcement that the *Corsican Gazette*, published by authority, will be presented to the readers of the *London Chronicle* . . . . . 336 a

Vol. XXI (January–June, 1767)

All articles in vols. XXI, XXII, and XXIII are, unless notice is given to the contrary, both marked and indexed in Boswell's file.

Jan. 1 'Epigram by a Banker' [*Behind my Counter here I sit*] 1

Jan. 3 Letter signed 'J.B.' asking for a translation of Seneca's epigrams on Corsica 16

Jan. 6 'Vers en Caractere de J. J. R[ousseau] [*Le Roi George pour me faire boire*] 21

Jan. 8 'Invention' as to a ludicrous print relating to Rousseau's quarrel with Hume . . . . 32 c

Jan. 24	'Invention', Padua, Jan. 7, concerning M. Vatel's plan of writing a book to prove that the Genoese own Corsica	81
Jan. 24	'Extract of a letter from Hamburgh, Jan. 1', with news of the Corsican courier. 'Invention' . .	88
Jan. 27	Letter signed 'J. B.' concerning Seneca's epigrams	95
Jan. 27	'Extract of a letter from Genoa, Jan. 3', with rumour that the Grand Duke of Tuscany is to liberate Corsica. 'Invention'	96
Feb. 3	'Extract of a letter from Utrecht, Jan. 6,' with 'invention' concerning Baron de Zuylen . .	120
Feb. 7	'Extract of a letter from Dresden, Jan. 9,' with 'invention' concerning M. Vatel	136
Feb. 14	'Fact' as to the Anstruther elections. (Boswell's manuscript note informs us that the 'Judge' was his father. 'A C——' means 'a Clergyman'.) .	160 b
Feb. 17	'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh', with account of the riot in the theatre there. 'Fact' . .	168
March 26	Letter signed 'J. B.' concerning the translation of Seneca's epigrams	292
March 26	'A Card' as to the size of the Memorials in the Douglas Cause	296
March 26	'Extract of a letter from The Hague, March 1, 1767', with news of the Corsican courier. 'Invention'	296
March 26	Statement of a Great Man at St. James that he would rather be Paoli than the first potentate of Europe	296 b
March 28	'Letter from Cassel, March 1', with 'invention' as to Mallet's History	304 a
March 28	'Extract of a letter from Utrecht, March 19', with 'invention' as to the Corsican courier . . .	304 b
March 28	Notice of the arrival of the courier in London. 'Invention'	304 b
March 28	Notice that an artist is to go to Corsica to obtain a portrait of Paoli	304 c
April 2	'Extract of a letter from Cassel, Feb. 26', with 'invention' concerning M. Mallet . . .	320
April 2	'Extract of a letter from Newcastle, March 25', with 'invention' concerning two sailors . .	320 b

April 4 'Invention' as to the intention of a Great Lady to visit Corsica . . . . . 328 b

April 9 'Extract of a letter from P——n in L——e, March 31', with 'invention' of a young officer who killed his bride in a fit of lunacy 344

April 16 'Extract of a letter from Mr. Boswell', concerning the Island of Capraya 368

April 18 Notice that Mr. Boswell is responsible for the authenticity of articles under the headings *Corsican Gazette* or *Corsican Intelligence*. 'Fact' . . 376 b

April 18 'Extract of a letter from Leghorn, March 28', with 'invention' as to English soldiers among Paoli's forces . . . . . 376 b

April 23 'Letter from an English soldier in Corsican service, March 20, 1767.' 'Invention' 392

April 25 Letter signed 'Humilis' with translation of Seneca's epigrams on Corsica 395

April 25 Letter signed 'A. E.' on the letter from the English soldier in the Corsican service 400

April 28 Letter signed 'D. D.' asking for a poem on Corsica attributed to Seneca 408

May 2 Letter signed 'Antiquarius' asking for a recipe to remove 'rust' from books 423

May 7 'Letter from The Hague, April 28,' with 'invention' concerning Signor Romanzo . . . . 440 b

May 7 'Invention' as to bets on the Douglas Cause . 440 c

May 12 'Extract of a letter from Utrecht, April 28,' with 'invention' concerning a capuchin . . . 456

May 16 'Invention' concerning a proposed canal between Dumfries and Ayr . . . . . 472 c

May 19 'Invention' as to the place of session of the Judges in the determination of the Douglas Cause . . 480 b

May 19 'Invention' as to five short-hand writers . . 480 b

May 21 'A letter from Madras', with 'invention' concerning a person there . . . . . 488 b

June 6 'Extract of a letter from Marseilles, May 1,' with 'invention' concerning Signor Romanzo . . 544

June 11 'Partus Suppositio. An Essay' 560

June 11 'Invention', as to Signor Romanzo, dated 'Toulon, May 9' . . . . . 560 b

(Marked, but not indexed.)

Vol. XXII (July–December, 1767)

July 2 Letter signed 'Probus', enclosing a letter of Lady Jane Douglas 4

July 2 Letter giving a review of *Dorando* . . . 5

July 9 Letter signed 'J. B.' concerning the translation of Seneca's epigrams on Corsica 29

July 14 'True paragraph', dated 'Edinburgh, July 1', on the arrest of the Scots publishers for printing extracts of *Dorando* . . . . . 48 c

July 28 'Invention' as to a quadruple alliance in favour of Corsica . . . . . 96 b

Aug. 15 Letter signed 'James Boswell' concerning the translation of Seneca's epigrams on Corsica . . 155

Aug. 27 Letter signed 'B.M., Oxford', urging the speedy publication of Mr. Boswell's *Account of Corsica* . 195

Sept. 3 Letter signed 'Tribunus', with an account of the proceedings against the Edinburgh publishers . 217

Sept. 22 'Corsican Intelligence, Corte, Aug. 4' . . . 288
(First paragraph marked by Boswell, 'Materials Mr. Burnaby, Expression my own.' Second paragraph marked as entirely Boswell's. Not indexed by Boswell.)

Sept. 24 Letter signed 'Probus', with letters of Mr. Pelham and Lady Jane Douglas 289

Sept. 24 'Extract of a letter from Civita Vecchia, Aug. 14', with 'invention' concerning Prince Heraclius of Georgia 296

Sept. 26 Letter signed 'An Honest Yorkshireman' on the decision of the Court of Session in the Douglas Cause 300

Oct. 8 Advertisement of *An Account of Corsica* . . 339 c
(Marked, but not indexed.)

Oct. 8 'Invention' as to incendiary letters sent to the author of *Dorando* . . . . . 344 c

Oct. 10 'Extract of a letter from Genoa, Sept. 12' and another from 'Leghorn, Sept. 12', with 'inventions' concerning the siege of Calvi (two paragraphs) 352

Oct. 13 Letter signed 'Velox', enclosing verses on the statue of Charles II in the Parliament Close at Edinburgh, 'by the Authour of Dorando' 359
(The verses are reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, Sept. 25, 1767.)

Oct. 15 'Extract of a letter from Cupar, Oct. 8', with 'invention' concerning Mr. Dempster . . . 362

Oct. 15 'Extract of a letter from Milan, Sept. 25', with 'invention' concerning a Quaker . . . 362

Oct. 15 Letter signed 'Jacob Giles', with a reply to 'Tribunus' 365
(See above, Sept. 3, 1767.)

Oct. 20 Extracts from the *Caledonian Mercury* concerning *Dorando* and the short-hand men . . . 380

Oct. 31 'Invention' as to a poem on Corsica by the King of Prussia . . . . . 422 c

Oct. 31 Letter signed 'Probus' in reply to 'Amicus Probi' 424
(The letter by 'Amicus Probi' is on p. 336.)

Oct. 31 'Extract of a letter from Potsdam, Oct. 6', with 'invention' as to the cousin of Signor Romanzo . 424

Nov. 14 Letter signed 'Scotus', with select depositions from the Douglas Proofs 468

Dec. 5 Advertisement as to the removal of *Observations on Considerations on the Douglas Cause* from *The Essence of the Douglas Cause* . . . . 543 b

Dec. 5 'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, Nov. 28' . 544 c
('Fact shewing the weakness of the Lord President in making such a noise about the incendiary letters.')

Dec. 19 Prologue spoken at the opening of the Theatre Royal at Edinburgh 591
(This is an imperfect copy, not sent by Boswell.)

Vol. XXIII (January–June, 1768)

Jan. 2 'Invention' concerning two deputies from Corsica 8 c

Jan. 5 Letter signed 'J. B.' with 'genuine copy' of the Theatre Royal Prologue 13
(This number is missing from Boswell's file.)

Jan. 9 Letter signed 'Humanus', referring to Boswell's Prologue 28

Jan. 14 Letter signed 'E. D.' on the importance of Corsican news 45

Jan. 19 *Item concerning Mahomet Ruza Beg and Corsica 64
(This number is missing from Boswell's file.)

Jan. 23 Essay signed 'J. B.' on 'Identification by Numbers' 77
(Later used as No. XLIX of *The Hypochondriack*. Reprinted from *Pub. Advt.*, Jan. 22, 1768.)

March 1 'Fact' concerning presents sent Mr. Boswell by General Paoli . . . . . 202 b

March 1 'Fact' as to James Boswell's being expected in town . . . . . 202 b
(This had previously appeared in *Pub. Advt.*, Feb. 29, 1768.)

March 24 'Fact' as to James Boswell's arrival in town . . 288 c

April 5 Notice of the proposed celebration of Paoli's birthday . . . . . 328 b
(Marked but not indexed.)

April 7 'Fact' as to the celebration of Paoli's birthday . 334 b
('This paragraph was written in the Clubroom. Cumming the Quaker began it & wrote down to the star. The rest I wrote myself.' Boswell's manuscript note. The 'star' comes at the point 'in particular there was a very respectable company at the Queen's-arms'.)

April 19 Card from Mr. Boswell to Mr. Y. E. . . . 371
(Mr. Y. E.'s card is on p. 347.)

April 19 'Invention' as to assistance to Corsica ('It is now confidently asserted, etc.') . . . . . 376 b

April 21 'Extract of a letter from Berlin, April 2', with 'invention' as to the King of Prussia and Corsica . 378
(Reprinted from *Pub. Advt.*, April 20, 1768.)

April 21 'Invention' as to the sending of church bells to Corsica . . . . . 378 c
(Reprinted from *Pub. Advt.*, April 19, 1768.)

April 21 Letter signed 'Consultor' on the want of juries in trying civil cases in Scotland 380

April 21 Anecdote in honour of the Irish (extract from *Corsica*) 383

April 21 Verses on reading that church bells were to be sent to Corsica 383
(Reprinted from *Pub. Advt.*, April 20, 1768.)

April 28 'Invention' as to a treaty between the Dutch and Corsica 402

May 10 Letter signed 'Philocorsus' attempting to prove that the Romans came from Corsica . . . 441

May 14 Letter signed 'M**********' concerning the rumour that Wilkes had offered his services to the Government 463

May 14 'Fact' as to a portrait of Paoli sent to Boswell . 464 b

May 14 'Invention' as to writings for the Douglas Cause . 464 b

May 17 Letter signed 'C. S.', refuting Mr. Boswell's statement as to the improbability that towers were ever carried on the backs of elephants . . . 468

May 24 Letter signed 'M**********', in reply to a defence of Wilkes by 'Impartialis' 492

June 30 *Anecdote relating what Mr. Boswell said at court concerning General Paoli 624
(This number is missing from Boswell's file.)

Vol. XXIV (July–December, 1768.)

Boswell's manuscript index ends with Vol. XXIII. In Vols. XXIV and XXV he has marked many items, but has not always been careful to use his distinctive mark, a star. My list of contributions to these two volumes is therefore probably incomplete, as I have recorded only those articles with the distinctive mark, and such others as from internal evidence seem certainly to be his. In the succeeding volumes, although there is no index, the special mark appears to have been consistently employed.

July 2 Note by 'a Correspondent' hinting that the ships which the Genoese are fitting out for France will be used to invade England . . . . . 8 b

July 5 *Note, from Edinburgh, stating that the Earl of Pembroke and Captain Meadows have gone to Corsica . . . . . 14 a
(This number is missing from Boswell's file.)

July 14 Notice that the articles in the *London Chronicle* headed *Corsican Gazette* or *Corsican Intelligence* are communicated by Mr. Boswell . . . . 48 a

July 28 'Extract of a letter from Potsdam, July 1' . . 96 a

July 28 'Letters from the Hague, July 1' . . . 96 a

Nov. 8 Notice from Dumfries of the enthusiastic reception of a bishop there . . . . . 448 c

Dec. 10 Memorial for a Contribution in behalf of the brave Corsicans 556
(Signed, but marked only with a cross.)

Dec. 22 'A Matrimonial Thought: To Matthew Henderson, Esq.' [*In the blithe days of honey moon*] . . 599
(See *Life*, ii. 110. This number is missing from Boswell's file.)

Vol. XXV (January–June, 1769)

March 14 *'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, March 6', giving an account of the rejoicings in Edinburgh on the arrival of the news of the decision of the Douglas Cause 248
(Not marked in any way in Boswell's file.)

April 8 Letter, signed, in reply to a correspondent ho (p. 84) asked him to vindicate the Corsicans from a charge made against them by Sir James Steuart . 333
(Marked only with a cross.)

April 20 *Anecdote of a remark made by a gentleman during the disturbances in Edinburgh following the decision of the Douglas Cause . . . . . 370 b
(This number is missing from Boswell's file.)

April 27 *First appearance of the advertisement for the third edition of *Corsica* 395
(Marked only with a cross.)

May 9 Notice of the arrival in London of a portrait of Paoli painted for Mr. Boswell by Mr. Bambridge [*sic*] 438

May 11 Advertisement dated May 8, 1769, and signed, calling for a 'Corsican Contribution' 445
(Not marked in any way in Boswell's file, but a second appearance of the same advertisement (p. 459) bears the distinctive mark.)

June 10 The same advertisement, with a list of the donors to date, and the amount subscribed by each . 551
(Marked only with a cross.)

Vol. XXVI (July–December, 1769)

July 11 'Extract of a letter from Dublin, June 8', giving an account of Mr. Boswell's visit to Ireland . . 34 b
(Reprinted from *Pub. Advt.*, July 7, 1769.)

July 18 Account of a meeting held at Bothwell Castle to celebrate Archibald Douglas's coming of age . 62 c

July 20 Item from 'Edinburgh, July 15', with an extract of a letter from 'a person of distinction at Pisa' telling of the escape of General Paoli from Corsica 70
(Boswell's note identifies the 'person of distinction' as Sir John Dick.)

Sept. 12 Verses in the Character of a Corsican at Shakespeare's Jubilee [*From the rude banks of Golo's rapid flood*] 256

(This seems to have been the first appearance of these verses in a periodical. But see Part I, no. 46.)

Sept. 16 Extract of a letter concerning the Stratford Jubilee 272 b

(Reprinted from *Pub. Advt.*, Sept. 16, 1769.)

Oct. 5 An Account of the Armed Corsican Chief at the Stratford Jubilee 332

(Reprinted from *Lond. Mag.*, Sept. 1769. Not marked here in any way.)

Oct. 7 Verses on seeing the Print of James Boswell, Esq. in the Corsican Dress [*Boswell, thy figure thus display'd*] 344

Oct. 24 Notice of James Boswell's having been seen on top of a hearse at an execution at Tyburn . . . 400

Oct. 26 'Verses on seeing Mr. Boswell on the Top of an Hearse at Tyburn; by the Author of the Verses on seeing his Print in the Corsican Dress' [*What! Black and all* Black, *are you here*] . . . 403

Oct. 31 Review of *Corsica, an Ode.* Signed, 'B. H.' (Boswell identifies the author as Edward Burnaby Greene.) 420

Nov. 11 Notice of the meeting of Mr. Garrick and General Paoli . . . . . 464 c

Nov. 11 Notice of Mr. Boswell's departure for Scotland . 464 c

Nov. 11 Notice regarding General Paoli's proposed visit to Scotland . . . . . 464 c

(This page is misnumbered 456.)

Dec. 5 Notice of the marriage of James Boswell to Miss Peggy Montgomerie . . . . . 539 a

Dec. 21 *'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, Dec. 12', with an account of the opening of the new Theatre Royal, and with the prologue, written and spoken by Mr. Ross 595

(This number is missing from Boswell's file.)

Dec. 26 'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, Dec. 17' concerning a hearing of the Court of Session in the matter of a new bridge 614

Vol. XXVII (Jan.–June, 1770)

Jan. 4 'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, Dec. 28', with an account of the pleadings in the trial of Mungo Campbell for shooting the Earl of Eglinton . . 14

March 6 Account of the sentence pronounced on Mungo Campbell. (Two short paragraphs at the foot of the column.) 218c

March 15 Two letters concerning General Paoli, from Boswell to Samuel Vaughan 253
(Extracted from Vaughan's *Appeal to the Public on Behalf of Samuel Vaughan, Esq.*, London, 1770. Marked only with a cross.)

April 3 Letter signed 'Laelius', expressing the hope that a second Addison may soon appear . . . 320

April 3 Notice of the second marriage of Sir David Dalrymple 320c
('Coalston' is misprinted 'Roalston', and 'Kilkerran' 'Killorran'. In a manuscript note Boswell says, 'These absurd errata were made by the Printer. It was however suspected to have been a piece of waggery in the Writer of the Paragraph.')

April 7 Letter signed 'Borealis' on the political disturbances of the time, including some 'reflections of a friend of mine' 333
(Boswell's note identifies the 'friend' as Sir Alexander Macdonald.)

April 17 Letter signed 'A. J.', enclosing a song by the Hon. Henry Erskine 365

May 10 Letter signed 'J. B.', correcting the errors of the printer in the account of Sir David Dalrymple's marriage 443

May 26 Letter signed 'A North Briton', enclosing a copy of an Act of the Scottish Parliament, 1609, with reflections on the ungenteel treatment of the Scottish nation by the English 499

Vol. XXVIII (July–December, 1770)

July 31 Account, dated 'Edinburgh, July 23', of the decision of the Court of Session in the cause of the peerage of Caithness 98a

Vol. XXIX (January–June, 1771)

Jan. 5 'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh', relating to the election of a representative peer . . . . . 22 b

Jan. 10 The same continued (beginning 'It is remarkable, etc.': three paragraphs) . . . . . 34 c

Jan. 10 The same continued ('Further news from Holyrood House') 38

Jan. 17 The same continued ('News from Holyrood House') 59

Vol. XXX (July–December, 1771)

Oct. 24 'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, Oct. 19', attacking the Lord Provost of Edinburgh for not conferring the freedom of the city on General Paoli 400

Nov. 28 Letter from 'Edinburgh, Nov. 15', signed 'W. H——n', continuing the attack on the Lord Provost 520

Vol. XXXI (January–June, 1772)

June 20 ?'Extract of a letter from Cambridge, June 19', with a 'humourous' story of a young lady who married a butcher's boy . . . . . 592 b

(This number is missing from Boswell's file. It sounds like one of his 'inventions'.)

Vol. XXXII (July–December, 1772)

Sept. 1 'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh' relating to the 'new town'. . . . . 216 b

Sept. 3 Verses 'On the famous Bank of Air. To a certain K——gt'. Signed 'Newark' 223

(The person addressed seems to be Sir Adam Fergusson.)

Vol. XXXIV (July–December, 1773)

July 15 'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, July 10', relating to the Donaldson trial and the law of literary property 56

Aug. 3 'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, July 27', continuing the same. 120

Nov. 9 Account of Dr. Johnson's tour to the Hebrides . 450 c

Dec. 28 'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, Dec. 21', relating to the 'Air Bank' . . . . . 624 a

Dec. 28 Communication regarding the marriage of Mr. Allan and Miss Young . . . . . 624 b

Vol. XXXVI (July–December, 1774)

Sept. 8 Some Account of the very extraordinary Travels of the celebrated Mr. Bruce 233
(Reprinted from *Lond. Mag.*, Aug. 1774.)

Sept. 20 Letter from 'Edinburgh, Sept. 13', signed 'A Royalist', urging a pardon for John Reid, condemned to be hanged for sheep-stealing . . 276

Sept. 24 Letter signed 'Classicus', hinting that Dr. Johnson will never publish his 'Journey to Scotland and the Western Isles' 292

Sept. 29 'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, Sept. 23', giving an account of the execution of John Reid . 311

Oct. 4 Some Account of the very extraordinary Travels of the celebrated Mr. Bruce (concluded) . . . 325
(Reprinted from *Lond. Mag.*, Sept. 1774.)

Vol. XXXVII (January–June, 1775)

Feb. 2 Letter signed 'A Southern Soul' on the differences between the laws and customs of England and Scotland 109

Vol. XL (July–December, 1776)

Boswell's file ends with 1775. The following items have been gleaned by searching the indexes of the volumes from 1776 to 1795.

Nov. 25 *Letter signed 'An Edinburgh Correspondent', with reflections on the true character of David Hume. 509
(This was reprinted in *Lond. Mag.*, Jan. 1777. See note at that entry.)

Vol. XLVIII (July–Deeember, 1780)

Aug. 22 *Letter signed 'A Constant Correspondent', urging that a memoir of Samuel Derrick be published . 172
(Both Johnson and Boswell are mentioned.)

Aug. 26 *Letter enclosing a compliment to Dr. Johnson from *The Shamrock, or Hibernian Cresses* . . 192
(Boswell quotes from this collection in *The Hypochondriack*, No. XXXII, *Lond. Mag.*, May 1780.)

Vol. L (July–December, 1781)

Oct. 20 *Letter signed 'A Constant Reader', asking for a recipe for detecting and destroying book-worms . 381
(Cf. the letter by 'Antiquarius', xxi. 423. The author

of this communication makes it clear that he is a Scotsman.)

Vol. LV (January–June, 1784)

March 25 * 'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, March 19', giving an account of a general meeting of the County of Ayr to address the King, with a Resolution moved by Mr. Boswell 294
(For the text of the Address, also drafted by Boswell, see *Lond. Gazette*, April 3, 1784.)

Vol. LVII (January–June, 1785)

June 2 *Advertisement for *Letter to the People of Scotland* 524

June 16 *Account of a musical dinner given by the Lord Mayor, at which Mr. Boswell rang his Chinese gong 571 b
(Reprinted from *St. James's Chron.*, June 14, 1785.)

Vol. LVIII (July–December, 1785)

July 7 *Address of the tenants of Auchinleck to the King 19
(This purports to have been 'transmitted to Mr. Boswell by Mr. Millar, Assistant Preacher at Auchinleck'. It was clearly, however, written by Boswell himself.)

July 30 Letter dated 'London, July 27, 1785', and signed, enclosing Sir Richard Maitland's *Complaint aganis the Lang Law-Sutes* 97
(See *Letters*, ii. 327. Boswell wrote to John Pinkerton asking for a copy of this piece, in order that he might use it in his *Letter to the People of Scotland*. The copy arrived too late for that purpose.)

Sept. 10 Correspondence between the Bishop of Derry and James Boswell concerning the Union of Ireland with Great Britain 247
(Reprinted from *Lond. Mag.*, March 1784.)

Sept. 13 Resolutions proposed for the Counties and Boroughs of Scotland, previous to the meeting of Parliament 251
(See *Edin. Advt.*, Oct. 28, 1785.)

Sept. 13 *First advertisement for the *Tour to the Hebrides* . 255

Vol. LIX (January–June, 1786)

April 20 Letter dated 'London, April 17', and signed, replying to the Postscript of Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes* . 373
(Dr. Hill says this had previously appeared in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, April 17, 1786.)

April 22 Letter dated 'Lancaster, April 6', and signed, addressed to the People of Scotland . . . 382
(Reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, April 11, 1786.)

Vol. LXVII (January–June, 1790)

Feb. 6 *Notice of the settlement of a law-suit between Sir Adam Fergusson and Boswell, in favour of the latter . . . . . 122 c
(See references to this 'paltry money question', hitherto unexplained, in *Letter to the People of Scotland*, 1785, p. 55, and *Letters*, ii. 523–4. The money proves to have been a Corsican subscription which Sir Adam promised but later refused to pay.)

Vol. LXVIII (July–December, 1790)

Sept. 21 *Account of the death of David Ross . . . 283
(Boswell plays a suspiciously prominent part in the account.)

Nov. 30 Letter, signed, enclosing General Paoli's speech to the General Assembly of Corsica 524

Edinburgh Advertiser

This newspaper was published on Tuesdays and Fridays by Boswell's friend Donaldson. The dates given are those on which the paper appeared.

Vol. VII (January–June, 1767)

June 12 'Extract of a letter from Marseilles, May 1'. . 372
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, June 6, 1767.)

June 16 'Extract of a letter from Berwick, June 15', concerning certain short-hand writers . . . 381

June 16 Advertisement of *Dorando* 383

June 19 *Ballad on Dorando, a Spanish Tale . . . 389

(Two stanzas of this will amply demonstrate its Boswellian authorship.

The famous Cause
With all its flaws,
Will make a foolish hand-O,
Since to this town
We have got down
The eloquent DORANDO.

* * * *

And, by the mass,
You may *grind glass*,
And *dance on rope* so grand-O;
Your wings are clipp'd,
Your rogues are stripp'd,
By gallant keen DORANDO.)

June 19 'Extract of a letter from Berwick, June 18', with a humorous description of the short-hand men . 390
(Mainly reprinted in *Lond. Chron.*, Oct. 20, 1767, and there marked as Boswell's.)

June 23 *Communication hinting that the 'Authour of Dorando' is a clergyman of Edinburgh (Principal Robertson; see below) 398

June 26 *Review of *Dorando* 402
(Part of this had appeared in *Caled. Merc.*, June 20, 1767. Ends: 'We would not conjecture the author of *Dorando*. We would not say with some, that a certain Reverend Gentleman has had a *principal* hand in it, nor that a certain noble Lord [Chatham] has sent it from Bath; nor, because *Dorando* is the name of a noble family at Genoa, would we ascribe it to anyone connected with CORSICA.')

June 26 'Extract of a letter from Berwick, June 25', enclosing a letter from Noel Burridge, one of the short-hand men 405
(Partially reprinted in *Lond. Chron.*, Sept. 3, 1767, and there marked as Boswell's.)

Vol. VIII (July–December, 1767)

July 3 *Notice that the Scots publishers have been summoned to appear before the Court of Session for having printed certain articles referring to the Douglas Cause 5

July 7 'Extract of a letter from Berwick, July 6', enclosing a letter from Algernon Cust, another of the short-hand men 13

July 7 *Advertisement of the third edition of *Dorando* . 14
(The Author assures the public 'that his *Spanish Tale* is *not* the Douglas Cause'.)

July 28 Account of the trial of the Edinburgh publishers . 60
(Reprinted in *Lond. Chron.*, Sept. 3, 1767, and there marked as Boswell's.)

Sept. 4 Letter signed 'B.M., Oxford', urging the speedy publication of *An Account of Corsica* . . . 145
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Aug. 27, 1767.)

Sept. 25 'Verses on the Equestrian Statue of King Charles II in the Parliament Close being painted white, September, 1767. By the Authour of Dorando' . 193
(This is the first appearance of this piece.)

Sept. 29 *Verses signed 'Brito' on the 'Verses by the Author of Dorando' 202

Dec. 18 Prologue spoken at the opening of the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh 385

Vol. X (July–December, 1768)

July 22, Aug. 12, Aug. 30, Nov. 1 Letters between Boswell and the Hon. Miss Primerose
(Reprinted from *Edin. Courant.* I have these references from Mr. Horace Bleackley's *Story of a Beautiful Duchess*, p. 153, n. 3.)

Vol. XII (July–December, 1769)

Sept. 15 Verses spoken at Shakespeare's Jubilee . . 174
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Sept. 12, 1769.)

Oct. 13 An account of the armed Corsican chief at Shakespeare's Jubilee 234
(Reprinted from *Lond. Mag.*, Sept. 1769.)

Vol. XVIII (July–December, 1772)

Nov. 20 * Review of *Reflections on the late alarming Bankruptcies in Scotland* 321

Dec. 4 *Account of the determination of the cause between Miss Margaret Scruton and John Gray . . . 356
(Boswell appears as one of the counsel for Gray, who won. In a letter signed 'A Southern Soul', *Lond. Chron.*, Feb. 2, 1775, he makes extended reference to this suit.)

Dec. 25 *Account of the determination of the cause between William Fuller of Rosemount and Charles Dalrymple of Orangefield, *et al.* 404
(Boswell, Lockhart, Macqueen, and Maclaurin were counsel for the defenders, against Henry Dundas, Crosbie, and Alexander Ferguson. Boswell's side won.)

Vol. XIX (January–June, 1773)

Jan. 19 ? Account of a masked ball given by Sir Alexander and Lady Macdonald 44

('Mr. James Boswell as a dumb Conjuror; it was regretted that this facetious gentleman's talents were locked up in dumb shew.' The account ends with a sentence which appears again in the account of the same masquerade in *Lond. Mag.*, Feb. 1774.)

Vol. XLI (January–June, 1784)

Jan. 23 *Extract of the *Letter to the People of Scotland*, 'quoted by Mr. Dundas in the House of Commons' 52

March 23 *Account of a meeting of the County of Ayr to address the King 188

(Speeches by 'Mr. Boswell of Auchinleck' are reported with especial fullness.)

March 26 Address 'To the Real Freeholders of the County of Ayr', signed, and dated 'Auchinleck, March 19, 1784' 197

April 2 Account of a dinner given by the Town Council of Edinburgh to Mr. James Hunter Blair, with one stanza of a ballad, *The Midlothian Address*, composed and sung by Mr. Boswell 210

April 2 Letter dated March 30, 1784, and signed, giving a full account of the meeting of the County of York to address the King 212

April 6 Addendum to Mr. Boswell's account of the meeting at York 220

April 13 ? Account of the installation of the Hon. Edmund Burke as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow 236

(Among those present, 'Mr. Boswell, who came from Ayrshire to meet him.')

Vol. XLIII (January–June, 1785)

Jan. 21 Letter dated 'Edinburgh, Jan. 18, 1785', and signed, urging the Counties of Scotland to petition Parliament in the matter of nominal and fictitious votes. 45

May 17 Letter dated 'London, May 12, 1785', and signed, promising the people of Scotland that he will oppose the bill for diminishing the number of the Lords of Session 309

Vol. XLIV (July–December, 1785)

Sept. 6 Formal opinion by Capel Lofft, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, that the proposed Bill for diminishing the number of the Lords of Session is an infringement

of the Articles of Union. Communicated by Mr. Boswell 153

Oct. 28 Resolutions, dated '25 October, 1785', and signed 'Hugh Montgomerie, Preses', accepted at a meeting of the County of Ayr, with respect to the bill for diminishing the number of the Lords of Session 275

(The following item says that Boswell drafted and proposed these resolutions.)

Oct. 28 *An account of the meeting of the County of Ayr 276

Dec. 27 Letter dated 'London, Dec. 19, 1785', and signed, denying his authorship of certain 'writings in the Scots newspapers', and apologizing for 'any intemperance' in his *Letter to the People of Scotland* . 413

Vol. XLV (January–June, 1786)

April 11 Letter dated 'Lancaster, April 6, 1786', and signed, urging the people of Scotland to petition Parliament for the restoration of trial by jury in civil suits 229

May 15 *Anecdote concerning Mr. Boswell's defence of a prisoner named Margaret Montgomerie at the Lancaster assizes . . . . . 305 b

Vol. LIII (January–June, 1790)

April 9 Song to the tune of 'Hosier's Ghost', sung by James Boswell at the meeting of the Humane Society [*See in our bright glasses flowing*] 229

(Possibly reprinted from some London paper.)

Vol. LIV (July–December, 1790)

Nov. 16 Account of the Lord Mayor's feast, with a song, 'William Pitt, the Grocer of London', sung by Mr. Boswell on that occasion [*Fell Faction be silent, and clamour no more*] 317

(Probably reprinted from *St. James's Chron*, Nov. 11, 1790.)

Vol. LVI (July–December, 1791)

Oct. 7 *Account of a meeting at Ayr in which nominal and fictitious votes were removed from the rolls . . 229

(Debate between Sir Adam Fergusson and 'Mr. Boswell of Auchinleck'.)

Vol. LVII (January–June, 1792)

May 15 Epigram on the pusillanimous behaviour of the French National Troops against the Austrians. Signed [*While loyal honour warm'd a Frenchman's breast*] 311

Public Advertiser

This newspaper appeared daily, except Sunday. Each issue is numbered, but there is no pagination.

1767 Number

Jan. 9 Notice of the designing of a ludicrous print on Rousseau's quarrel with Hume 10043
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Jan. 8, 1767.)

July 8 Letter from Noel Burridge, a short-hand reporter . 10197
(Said to be reprinted from *Thompson's Newcastle Journal.*)

Sept. *Letter from 'A Gentleman of Scotland' to a friend in France . . . . . (?)
(Reprinted in *Caled. Merc.*, Sept. 30, 1767, where the source, but not the date, is given. See note at that entry.)

Dec. 11 Advertisement as to the removal of the *Observations*, etc., from *The Essence of the Douglas Cause* . . 10332
(This had previously appeared in *Lond. Chron.*, Dec. 5, 1767.)

Dec. 18 ? Letter from 'Edinburgh, Dec. 6, 1767', with an account of the opening of the Theatre Royal by Mr. Ross, and enclosing a copy of the prologue spoken by him 10338
(The letter sounds like Boswell, but he is not mentioned as author of the prologue.)

Dec. 22 *'Extract of a letter from Edinburgh, Dec. 12,' giving an account of the opening of the Theatre Royal, with 'a more perfect and correct copy' of the Prologue 10341

1768

Jan. 12 Letter signed 'J. B.', with a 'genuine copy' of the Theatre Royal prologue 10360
(This same letter had previously appeared in *Lond.*

Chron., Jan. 5, 1768. This makes the *third* appearance of Boswell's poem in the *Advertiser* within a space of three weeks. The 'genuine copy' is identical with the 'more perfect and correct copy' of Dec. 22, except that in this the penultimate couplet is omitted. Both versions were undoubtedly sent in by Boswell himself, the second being a revision. It is also quite possible, I think, that the copy of Dec. 18 was also his, having been sent in *before* the event it chronicles had taken place, as the date of the letter indicates. (The prologue was actually spoken on Dec. 9.) It was probably this somewhat obvious self-advertising that so disgusted Goldsmith in the matter of this prologue. See Prior's *Life*, ii, 160–1.)

Jan. 22 Essay signed 'J. B.' on 'Identification by Numbers' 10369
(Used as No. XLIX of *The Hypochondriack, Lond. Mag.*, l. 487.)

Feb. 29 Notice that James Boswell, Esq., is expected in town 10399
(Reprinted in *Lond. Chron.*, March 1, 1768, and there marked as Boswell's. Sir James Prior quotes this in *Life of Goldsmith*, i. 449 n., but gives the date incorrectly as Feb. 28.)

March 24 Notice of James Boswell's arrival in town . . 10420
(Appears in *Lond. Chron.* for the same date.)

April 19 Notice that church bells are to be sent to Corsica 10443
(See note on second entry below.)

April 20 'Extract of a letter from Berlin, April 2', concerning Corsica and the King of Prussia . . 10444
(See note on next entry.)

April 20 Verses on reading that church bells are to be sent to Corsica [*While o'er the Globe old England tells*] 10444
(This and the two preceding items were reprinted in *Lond. Chron.*, April 21, 1768, and there marked as Boswell's.)

April 20 *'Extract of a letter from Genoa, March 23', and other items relating to Corsica 10444

April 26 Letter signed 'Mortalis' on the execution of Gibson and Payne 10449
(Reprinted as No. LXVIII of *The Hypochondriack*, *Lond. Mag.*, lii. 203.)

May 3 *Letter signed 'A Constant Reader', enclosing a

letter dated 'Bristol, April 1768' on the fatal effects to be expected if France gains Corsica 10454

(Reprinted as Nos. I and II of *British Essays*. See note at that entry.)

May 19 ? Letter signed 'Monitor' showing the acquisition of Corsica by the French to be prejudicial to the interests of Europe 10466

(Reprinted as No. III of *British Essays*. See note at that entry.)

July 6 *Letter signed 'O. P.', urging the merchants of London to make a subscription for Corsica . . 10509

(Reprinted as No. XII of *British Essays*. See note at that entry.)

1769

May 12 Advertisement for a Corsican contribution, dated May 8, 1769, and signed 10710

July 7 Letter dated 'Dublin, June 8', giving an account of Mr. Boswell's visit to Ireland, and including a copy of an appeal for subscriptions circulated in Ireland . . . . . (?)

(Partially reprinted in *Lond. Chron.*, July 11, 1769, and there marked as Boswell's. The appeal is said to have 'appeared in Faulkener's Journal and other public papers'.)

Sept. 16 Letter signed 'J. B.', giving an account of the Stratford Jubilee 10883

Oct. 13 Letter dated 'Old Bond-Street, Oct. 12', and signed 'J. B.', denying that he has made any reply to 'Anti-Gnatho' 10906

(On Sept. 16 'Anti-Gnatho'—probably Kenrick—printed in the *Advertiser* a long letter in ridicule of Garrick's Jubilee Ode. On Sept. 19 'Anti-Malevolus' defended Garrick. On Sept. 22 'Anti-Gnatho' returned to the attack, and glanced at Boswell as 'that eloquent Historian, inspired Bard, and Jubilean Musquetteer'. On Sept. 26 'D. C.' defended Boswell. Some time later —apparently Oct. 12, as that is the only number missing from the file I have searched—'Anti-Gnatho' replied to 'D. C.' as though 'D. C.' were Boswell himself. On the 13th Boswell published this letter, saying that a friend had taken him to task for paying any attention to 'Anti-Gnatho', and asserting that he 'neither directly nor indirectly took

any notice of that ill-natured Correspondent'. On Oct. 24 'Anti-Gnatho' fired his last shot, a long and sarcastic 'Card from the Banks of the Ganges', addressed 'to the Luminary of *Auchinleck*, the Pencil of Historic Excellence, the Syren Throat of Soul-moving Song, the Emerald of Masquerade, etc.')

1770

June 2 Essay on the New Freezing Discovery, signed 'J'. 11074
(Reprinted as No. XLVII of *The Hypochondriack*, *Lond. Mag.*, l. 357.)

1779

April 19 *Account which Mr. Boswell gave Mr. Booth of Hackman's trial 13893

April 21 *Denial of the report that Mr. Boswell attended Mr. Hackman to Tyburn 13895

1786

? April 18 Letter dated 'London, April 17', and signed, replying to the Postscript of Mrs. Piozzi's Anecdotes (?)
(An autograph draft of Boswell's reply, partially written on the offending page of Mrs. Piozzi's book, is in the possession of Mr. Adam, who has reproduced it in facsimile. It is headed 'Publick Advertiser, April 18, 1786.' I have been unable to consult a file of the paper for that year. Dr. Hill says (*Life* v (*Hebrides*). 246 n.) that the letter was first published in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, April 17, 1786.)

Caledonian Mercury

This paper appeared three times a week. The separate issues are numbered, but there is no pagination.

1767

June 15 Advertisement of *Dorando* 7005

June 17 *Review of *Dorando* 7006

June 17 Essay on *Partus Suppositio* 7006
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, June 11, 1767.)

June 17 'Extract of a letter from Berwick, June 15', relating to certain short-hand writers 7006
(Reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, June 16, 1767.)

June 20 Review of the second edition of *Dorando* . . 7007
(Partially reprinted, *Lond. Chron.*, Oct. 20, 1767, and there marked.)

June 20 'Extract of a letter from Berwick, June 18', giving a humorous description of certain short-hand writers 7007
(Reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, June 19, 1767.)

June 20 *Advertisement of the second edition of *Dorando*. 7007

June 24 *Verses on *Dorando*. Signed 'Episcopus' [*When to the Judges, was display'd the plot*] . . . 7009
(Contains the following couplet:
'But ever full of true old SCOTTISH fire
I strike with fingers rude my rusty lyre.')

June 27 'Extract of a letter from Berwick, June 25', enclosing a letter from Noel Burridge . . . 7010
(Reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, June 26, 1767.)

June 29 *Advertisement of the third edition of *Dorando* . 7011

July 8 'Extract of a letter from Berwick, July 6', enclosing a letter from Algernon Cust, one of the short-hand men 7015
(Reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, July 7, 1767.)

Sept. 26 Verses on the statue of Charles II in the Parliament Close 7050
(Reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, Sept. 25, 1767.)

Sept. 30 *Letter from 'A Gentleman of Scotland, who has been much abroad' to a French friend, condemning the decision of the Court of Session in the Douglas Cause 7051
(Said to be from *Pub. Advt.* Date not given.)

Nov. 28 *Letter on foreign travel, signed 'Britannus' . 7070
(Reprinted in *Lond. Mag.*, Nov. 1767. See note at that entry. The essay seems to have been copied into the *Mercury* from some other source.)

Dec. 14 Prologue spoken at the opening of the Theatre Royal at Edinburgh 7083

? 1776

Jan. *Letter signed 'Vetustus' condemning the affectation of calling the 'Parliament Close' the 'Parliament Square' . . . . . (?)
(Reprinted in *Scots Mag.*, Appendix, 1775. See note at that entry. It bears the date Jan. 26, 1776.)

St. James's Chronicle

This paper appeared three times a week. The separate issues are numbered, but there is no pagination.

1766

May 6 ? Letter signed 'X' defending Rousseau . . 807
(Concerning this and the next two items, see *Philological Quarterly*, iv. 356, 359, 360.)

Nov. 29 ? Letter signed 'An Orthodox Hospitable Old Englishman', defending Rousseau against Walpole 896

Dec. 18 *Letter signed 'A Friend to Rousseau', attacking Walpole and urging Rousseau to do the same . 904

1779

April 17 ? Account of the trial of Mr. Hackman, with a copy of his speech to the court 2823
(I think it highly probable that Boswell wrote Hackman's speech. There are also parallels between the account of the trial and the following item.)

April 17 Letter signed 'J. B.' concerning Mr. Hackman . 2823

1785

Jan. Letter signed and dated Jan. 18, 1785, denying his authorship of a certain letter printed in *St. James's Chronicle* (?)
(Reprinted in *Lond. Mag.*, April 1785, where the source, but not the date of publication, is given.)

The following items from the *St. James's Chronicle* are preserved in Samuel Lysons's collection of Johnsonian cuttings. See *post*, p. 265.

1785

June 14 *Account of Mr. Boswell's exhibition of his Chinese gong at the Mansion House.
(See next item, and the entry for *Lond. Chron.*, June 16, 1785.)

June ? *'Ode on Mr. Boswell's Gong' [*Wonder of Wonders! what is this*].
(Lysons's Collection, fol. 17, with the name of the paper, but not the date. It refers to 'our Chronicle of June 14', where the original account must have appeared. This 'ode' contains information which no one but Boswell would have been likely to know.)

Oct. ? Letter dated Oct. 25, 1785, and signed 'Byblius'.

(Lysons's Collection, *bis*, fol. 12^{v} and 110^{v}, without date of publication. Mr. Boswell's *Hebrides* 'has increased our difficulties in forming an accurate Judgement of this remarkable Man. . . . There is no Doubt but that Mr. Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson will be an acceptable Present to the Publick'. The spellings 'Superiours' and 'Inferiours' occur, but the *St. James's Chronicle* seems to have affected these.)

? Oct. ? Letter signed 'M. M.' complimenting the *St. James's Chronicle* on its review of the *Tour to the Hebrides*, 'which has made me impatient to see his Life of his Fellow-Traveller'.

(Lysons's Collection, fol. 12. The letter ends with a criticism of the disposition of the figures in Reynolds's painted window at New College.)

? Oct. *Letter signed 'An Enemy to Nonsense and Slander', defending the Rev. Mr. Strahan and Mr. Boswell for publishing *Prayers and Meditations* and *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*. In reply to a 'paragraph that appeared in one of the Morning Papers of the 6th Inst.'

(Lysons's Collection, fol. 61, without date of publication.)

1786

March Letter dated March 9, 1786, and signed, denying that any passage of the *Tour to the Hebrides* was removed in the second edition at the demand of Lord Macdonald.

(Lysons's Collection, fol. 20, without date of publication or name of paper. The typography is clearly that of the *St. James's Chronicle*. The letter bears the simple heading 'To the Printer', indicating that it was copied from some other paper.)

April Letter dated April 17, 1786, and signed, replying to Mrs. Piozzi's Postscript to her *Anecdotes of Samuel Johnson*.

(Lysons's Collection, fol. 20^{v}, 21, without date of publication. The letter appears in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, April 17, 1786. *Life* v (*Hebrides*). 245 n.)

1790

I have the following items through the courtesy of Dr. Frederick W. Hilles, who discovered them in the file of the *St. James's Chronicle* in the British Museum.

Oct. 19 Letter, signed, announcing that he will no longer restrain himself from writing to the press about Johnson.

Nov. 11 Account of Mr. Boswell's singing at the Lord Mayor's feast a ballad composed by him for the occasion. The words of the ballad are included [*Fell Faction be silent, and clamour no more*].

Dec. 28 Translation of Paoli's speech to the General Assembly of Corsica, with an introductory letter. Signed.

(? Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, 30 Nov. 1790.)

Edinburgh Evening Courant

This paper appeared three times a week. I have had access to only one very imperfect volume. My items are, therefore, nearly all culled at second hand.

1767

June 17 Advertisement of *Dorando*.

June 22 Review of the second edition of *Dorando*.

('The extracts from Dorando, from the Mercury of June 20, [were copied] into the Courant of June 22.' *Scots Mag.*, xxix. 341.)

1768

June 22 Reply 'by the Author of *The Essence of the Douglas Cause*' to a letter by the Hon. Margaret Primerose in the *Courant* for June 20.

(Reprinted with this reference in *Scots Mag.*, xxx. 348.)

Aug. 10 Reply to a letter by Miss Primerose in the *Courant* of July 18, and enclosing a letter by Margaret Duchess of Douglas.

(Reprinted with this reference in *Scots Mag.*, xxx. 410.)

Oct. 31 Reply to a letter by Miss Primerose in the *Courant* for Aug. 29.

(Reprinted with this reference in *Scots Mag.*, xxx. 539.)

Dec. 16 Prologue spoken at the opening of the Theatre Royal at Edinburgh.

Edinburgh Weekly Journal

I have had no access to this newspaper. I list it here because it was one of those called before the Court of Session for printing extracts from *Dorando*.

1767

June 24 Extracts from *Dorando*, with remarks, and letters concerning the short-hand men.

(The remarks on *Dorando* may be original. The other material is from *Edin. Advt.*, June 16 and 19. See *Scots Mag.*, xxix. 337, 341.)

Edinburgh Chronicle

This paper appeared twice a week. All but the last of the following letters were reprinted in *A View of the Edinburgh Theatre during the Summer Season, 1759*. Their attribution to Boswell therefore depends on the authorship of that pamphlet. See Part IV.

	1759	Page
June 23	? Letter on theatrical criticisms, with a review of the performance of *Oroonoko*, June 20 . . .	220
June 28	? Review of the performance of *Hamlet*, June 23 .	227
June 30	? Review of the performance of *The Beaux' Stratagem*, June 25, and *The Provoked Husband*, June 27	236
July 7	? Review of the performance of *Romeo and Juliet*, June 30, and *The Careless Husband*, July 2 .	251
July 7	? Letter signed 'Censor', protesting against the performance of *Amphytrion*	252

London Gazette

1784

April 3 Address of the County of Ayr on the East India Bill.

(See note on *Lond. Chron.*, March 25, 1784.)

Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser

1786

April 17 Letter dated 'London, April 17', and signed, replying to the Postscript of Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes*.

Dr. Hill gives this reference, *Life* v (*Hebrides*). 245 n. 2.

The World

1790

? Nov. 25 Letter referring to his ballad 'The Grocer of London', and denying that he showed servility in singing it. Signed.

(Reprinted in William Gifford's *Baviad* (1791), p. 2.

No date is given, but in the letter Boswell says that certain lines on Pitt which he encloses will 'appear very well on the first day of the new Parliament'. The Parliament was opened on Nov. 25, 1790 (*Lond. Chron.*, lxviii. 513).)

The following random citations from provincial newspapers will show the extent to which Boswell's journalistic writings circulated.

Thompson's Newcastle Journal

1767

June — Letter from Noel Burridge, a short-hand reporter.
(Reprinted from *Edin. Advt.*, June 26, 1767. See entry for *Pub. Advt.*, July 8, 1767.)

Leeds Intelligencer

1768

Dec. 27 — A Matrimonial Thought.
(Reprinted from *Lond. Chron.*, Dec. 22, 1768. See *N. & Q.*, 6th Ser., ii. 8.)

Faulkener's Journal

1769

June — Address for a subscription in favour of the Corsicans.
(See entry for *Pub. Advt.*, July 7, 1769.)

Freeman's Journal

1769

June / July — Notices of Boswell's movements in Ireland.
(See *N. & Q.*, 8th Ser., v. 145. Boswell must have written these himself.)

Addendum

Lloyd's Evening Post

This newspaper was published three times a week, and in appearance and content closely resembles the *London Chronicle*. Although many of Boswell's items appear there, I have not attempted to make a list, because, so far as I have discovered, they had all, with possibly one exception, previously appeared in the other papers listed above. It furnishes, however, a useful secondary source, and may often be

consulted with profit when the original source that I have listed is inaccessible. The one item for which I have failed to find an earlier date of publication is the following, and that, I fancy, was copied from some daily paper:

	Vol. XVIII (January-June, 1766)	Page
Feb. 14	Notice that James Boswell arrived in town 'yesterday' from his travels	157

SAMUEL LYSONS'S COLLECTION OF JOHNSONIAN CUTTINGS

In Colonel Ralph H. Isham's collection of Johnsoniana is a scrapbook of cuttings from various newspapers and magazines, made by Samuel Lysons the antiquary. The cuttings are mounted on sheets of paper approximately $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and bound into a large octavo volume, which bears the binder's title 'Johnsoniana'. As this title indicates, they all concern Johnson or his biographers. On the first page (preceded by two blank fly-leaves) is mounted a wood-cut of Johnson, with the signature 'Sam: Lysons 1788'. The greater part of the cuttings are of dates between 1784 and 1786, there being none of date later than 1788, and one as early as 1768. Mrs. Piozzi knew of this collection, a great part of which concerned herself, and feared that it might be put to a bad use. On Lysons's death she wrote to Sir James Fellowes expressing some anxiety about it (Hayward, *Autobiography of Mrs. Piozzi*, 1861, ii. 442). The great majority of the cuttings are from the *St. James's Chronicle* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, but few give the date of publication, and many do not preserve the name of the periodical from which they were taken. The following are of this description:

1785

March *Paragraph giving notice that while Mr. Boswell is preparing his *Life of Johnson* he is printing the *Tour to the Hebrides*, and expressing doubt that the other biographers will present any new material. ('Both Mr. Boswell's Productions will be given in the same Size with the projected Editions of Dr. Johnson's Works.')

(Lysons's Collection, fol. 100v. The paragraph seems to have been printed in reply to a notice by the booksellers puffing Hawkins's *Life*. Lysons has preserved both on the same page, but without name of paper or date of publication.)

? Nov. *Paragraph making reflections on Mr. Courtenay's character of Mr. Boswell, 'Scarce by North Britons now esteemed a Scot'. ('*Who* supported the great Security of *Birth-Right* in the *Douglas Cause*? Who opposed infringing the Articles of Union in diminishing the Number of the Lords of Session? *Who* has lately done all he could to obtain for Scotland a *Tryal* by *Jury* in civil Commotions?')

(Lysons's Collection, fol. 11v.)

1786

? April 'Piozzian Rhimes' [*Thinking, no Doubt, to rival Bozzy*]. Signed 'Old Salusbury Briar' [i.e. OSB = BOS?].

(Lysons's Collection, fol. 16v. Lysons has noted in the margin, 'written by James Boswell. S. L.')

? May ? Paragraph concerning Mr. Boswell's *Letter to the People of Scotland* (1785) and Sir John Dalrymple's pamphlet on the Distillery Laws (1786), with reference to the abuse of Juries. ('Sir John Dalrymple . . . is the Sir John Dalrymple whom Dr. Johnson so pleasantly ridicules in Mr. Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides.')

(Lysons's Collection, fol. 29v. From the typography I should guess that the cutting was from the *Morning Chronicle*.)

1787

May Advertisement dated 'May, 1787' explaining Mr. Boswell's delay in publishing his *Life of Johnson*.

(Lysons's Collection, fol. 26v. See *ante*, p. 163.)

PART III

POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATIONS

In the following list I include writings of Boswell which have appeared in any form since his death. I have not included uncollected letters, nor mere scraps of a few words, such as inscriptions in books.

1. **Life of Johnson,** *Third Edition,* 1799

See Part I, No. 82. This edition contained many new notes, additions, and corrections by Boswell.

2. *The Laird of Glenlee,* **Isabel Pagan's Poems, 1803**

A | Collection | of | Songs and Poems | on | several Occasions. | By | Isabel Pagan. | [*Long rule*] | But a' the whole tract of my time, | I found myself inclin'd to rhyme: | When I see merry company, | I sing a song with mirth and glee. | [*Long rule*] | [*Small printer's ornament*] | Glasgow: | Printed by Niven, Napier & Khull, | Trongate. | [*Small printer's ornament*] | 1803.

Collation:—Duodecimo, printed in half-sheets, pp. 76; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; Text of *A Collection of Songs and Poems*, pp. [3]–76. There are no headlines, the pages from 4 to 76 being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between round brackets. The imprint is repeated at the bottom of the last page. The signatures are [A] to F (six half-sheets, each 6 leaves), plus G (two leaves). The book was apparently issued without a Half-title.

Issued 'stabbed', probably without wrapper. The paper is of poor quality, and the general appearance unprepossessing. The leaves of the copy in the British Museum (somewhat trimmed) measure $6\frac{9}{16}$ by 4 inches.

This little book is a collection of original songs by an extraordinary creature who lived a solitary life in a hut near Muirkirk, and conducted an illicit traffic in whisky. (See *D.N.B.*) Burns is known to have been her friend, and it appears that Boswell also was an

acquaintance. James Paterson, in his *Contemporaries of Burns* (p. 118 n.), says that this volume 'contains a song written by James Boswell, the biographer of Johnson, called "The Laird o' Glenlee"—a somewhat indelicate satire, which Tibbie used to sing with much humour'. (John Macintosh in his anthology, *Poets of Ayrshire*, p. 29, repeats this statement, but apparently without independent investigation.)

I have no doubt that the song, which appears at pp. 24–6, really is Boswell's, although it bears no statement to that effect. Isabel Pagan died in 1821, and Paterson published his *Contemporaries of Burns* in 1840, when many people were still alive who were able to give him information concerning her. He is inconsistent as to the date of her birth; on p. 114 he says she was in her thirty-seventh year in 1797, but on p. 122 he gives her age as eighty at the time of her death in 1821. The latter statement, which he evidently took from her tombstone, is probably correct. It would make her an exact contemporary of Boswell's. Whether Paterson rested on some published authority for his attribution I do not know, but he speaks as though the Boswellian authorship of the piece were unquestionable. It is quite characteristic of Boswell, both in subject and style, and unlike the other pieces in the book.

The 'Laird of Glenlee' was John Miller, elder brother of Thomas Miller, Lord Justice Clerk, later Lord President and a baronet, a person whom Boswell disliked because of his Hamiltonian bias in the Douglas Cause, and whom he found occasion to attack anonymously in the newspapers because of his refusal to recommend a pardon for a certain John Reid, sentenced to be hanged for sheep-stealing. (See *Lond. Chron.*, 20 Sept. 1774.) The song must have been composed between 1766 and 1780, for Sir Thomas, who is referred to in it as 'Lord Justice Clerk', assumed that office on 14 June 1766 (*D.N.B.*), and John Miller died on 28 Nov. 1780 (*Scots Mag.*, xlii. 618). I should place it near the earlier date. In the Bodleian MS. are two songs of exactly this character: one 'To Lord Kames', dated 1766, the other 'To Lord Kenmore' (who is addressed as 'The Laird of Craigubble'), probably written by 1761 or earlier.

Isabel Pagan could read, but apparently never mastered the art of writing. Her songs are said to have been written down by one William Gemmell, a tailor (Paterson, *op. cit.*, p. 117). Either he or Tibbie has sadly corrupted the second of the four stanzas of Boswell's poem, the last three lines of which make no sense as they stand, though it is easy enough to reconstruct them more or less plausibly.

As this little book is one of the rarest in existence, I append a copy of the first stanza of the poem :—

The Laird of Glenlee.

Tune—*Langolee.*

My name is J—k M——r, I care not who knows it,
For I am the laird of the lands of Glenlee,
And I am the man that can parritch and brose it,
And drink strong liquors, if you'll keep me free.
I, J——y M——r, was there e'er such another,
I'm laird of Glenlee, Lord Justice Clerk's brother,
And twenty fat wethers like rabbits I'll smother,
And eat them myself at the mill of Glenlee.

3. *Song to an Irish Air*, Sir Alexander Boswell's Songs, 1803

Songs, | chiefly in the | Scottish Dialect. | *Long double rules*] | Nulla venenato litera mixta joco est. | [*Long double rules*] | Edinburgh: | Printed for Manners & Miller, | By Mundell & Son. | [*Short rule*] | 1803.

Collation :—Octavo, pp. iv + 34, and one blank leaf; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; Advertisement by the Author (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]; Text of *Songs*, etc., pp. [1]–34; one blank leaf follows. There is a running headline, *Songs.*, and the pages from 2 to 34 are numbered in the usual fashion in arabic numerals. The signatures are A and B (two sheets, each 8 leaves), preceded by two unsigned leaves carrying the Title-page and Advertisement, and followed by two unsigned leaves carrying pp. 33–4 and the blank leaf at the end. These four unsigned leaves clearly form one half-sheet, wrapped around the other two signatures. The book seems to have been issued without a Half-title.

Issued 'stabbed', probably without wrapper. It seems to be very scarce. I have met with only one copy, that in the New York Public Library. The leaves of this copy (which have been trimmed) measure $8\frac{1}{8}$ by $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

On p. 15 is published for the first time a 'Song to an Irish Air, by the late James Boswell, Esq.' This song, which consists of four four-line stanzas rhyming in couplets, may be conveniently found in R. H. Smith's edition of the Poetical Works of Sir Alexander Boswell

(1871), p. 17, or in Leask's *James Boswell*, p. 81. John Macintosh in *The Poets of Ayrshire*, p. 53, wrongly attributes it to James Boswell the Younger. Mr. Percy Fitzgerald in his *Life of Boswell*, i. 221–2, prints a slightly different version from a manuscript formerly in the Morrison collection of autographs, which was supposed to be in Boswell's own hand. At the sale of the collection, however, it was admitted that the manuscript was not autograph (Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge, *Catalogue of the Sale of the Morrison Autographs*, 10 Dec. 1917, lot 118).

This song, which celebrates the charms of a certain 'Margaret Caroline', has been generally held to have been inspired by a sentimental connexion between Boswell and the notorious Margaret Caroline Rudd. I have no doubt that Mrs. Rudd may have inspired it, but have found no evidence that points to anything more than the merest acquaintanceship between them.[1] See *N. & Q.*, cxlix. 4.

4. *The Fusticiary Garland*, Dr. Andrew Duncan's Carmina Macaronica, 1813

Carminum rariorum | macaronicorum | Delectus: | in Usum | Ludorum Apollinarium, | quæ solenniter Edinburgi celebrantur | apud Conventum gymnasticum | Filiorum Æsculapii. | [*Rule*] | Editio altera emendata et aucta. | [*Rule*] | Thy good example, Phœbus, we'll cheerfully follow, | Haud enim semper arcum tendit Apollo; | And long will this Assembly mix Seria cum Joco, | By meeting at the Golf-Hall, desipere in Loco. | Chorus to the Canticum Gymnasticum. | [*Short double rules*] | Edinburgi: | Ex Typographia G. Ramsay et Sociorum. | Venales prostant apud Petrum Hill, Juniorem, | Sodalitatis gymnastici Bibliothecarium. | [*Short rule*] | 1813.

Collation:—Octavo, pp. 144; consisting of: Half-title, 'Carminum rariorum | macaronicorum | Delectus.' (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [3–4]; *Preface* (with blank reverse), pp. [5]–7; Text of 'Carmina Macaronica', beginning with Fly-title (with blank reverse) to the first poem, 'Polemo-Middinia', pp. 9–144. Pages 6 and 7 are actually numbered in roman numerals. The signatures are [A] to I (nine sheets, each 8 leaves). At the foot of the last page appears the

[1] Colonel Isham tells me, however, that there unquestionably is such evidence in Boswell's unpublished diary in his possession.

following colophon: 'Excudendum curabat Andreas Duncan, Senior, | Scriba Prætorius et Septuagenarius, | Joannes Stark, Typographus.'

Issued sewed, probably in boards. An uncut copy in the British Museum measures $8\frac{15}{16}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

On pp. 140–4 of this volume was printed for the first time 'The Justiciary Garland, being the Form of Trial before a Criminal Court' [*First pray rise up Black of Greenmountain*], which is readily accessible in the various editions of James Maidment's *Court of Session Garland*. Dr. Duncan (concerning whom see *D.N.B.*) appears to have written it down from memory. On p. 144 he adds the following note: 'This song is said to have been written by a club of young lawyers, each contributing his verse. Although the wit of it depended much on a knowledge of the particular characters alluded to, yet the ingenious reader will be at no loss to find, at any period, heads whom the hats will fit. After all the supposed characters and authors of this *jeu d'esprit* had been for some time dead, it was often sung with great spirit at the Gymnastic Club, to the no small entertainment of the company.'

Maidment says the piece was the joint composition of Robert Cullen (Lord Cullen), Colin [should be John] Maclaurin (Lord Dreghorn), James Sinclair (a Principal Clerk of Session), and Boswell. From certain allusions in it to war with the French and the 'Yankies', the date seems to be 1778. For its relation to Sir Alexander Boswell's *Songs in the Justiciary Opera*, see note under no. 6. Both are composed of short separate songs, some of which are common to both poems. Sir Alexander's ascription of the *Opera* to Cullen, Maclaurin, and Boswell supports Maidment's contention that Boswell had a hand in the *Justiciary Garland*. The two, indeed, appear ultimately to have been derived from the same original by various changes and additions suitable to particular occasions. It is probably impossible now to determine Boswell's exact share in either.

5. *Notes on Lord Kames*, Lord Woodhouselee's Life of Lord Kames, 1814

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames, . . . by . . . Alex. Fraser Tytler of Woodhouselee . . . Second Edition . . . Edinburgh, printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, in the Strand, London, 1814.

Octavo, 3 vols.

See 'Projected Works', no. 13. Lord Woodhouselee prints as footnotes six extracts from Boswell's manuscript *Life of Lord Kames*, which I believe have never been reprinted (i. 14, 19, 61, 65, 82, 123). These do not appear in Woodhouselee's first edition (1807). They all relate to the earlier portion of Lord Kames's life, that on p. 19 consisting of his interesting reminiscences of Boswell's grandfather. Lord Woodhouselee does not say how he gained access to the MS., of which he was evidently ignorant when he wrote his book. In this second edition he also prints extracts from the then unpublished diary of Alexander Carlyle.

6. Songs in the Justiciary Opera, 1816

Songs | in the | Justiciary Opera, | composed fifty Years ago, | by C—— M—— & B—— I.C.C. | [*Double rules*] | Sævaque circuitu.—Ovid. Met. | [*Rule*] | Quin et Ixion, —— vultu | Risit invito.—Hor. | [*Double rules*] | Auchinleck: | Printed by James Sutherland. | [*Rule*] | 1816.

Collation:—Quarto, pp. vi + 12, and one blank leaf; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [i–ii]; *Advertisement* (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]; Fly-title, 'Songs | in the | Justiciary Opera', p. [v]; *Dramatis Personæ*, p. [vi]; Text of *Songs in the Justiciary Opera*, pp. [1]–12. There is a running headline, *Justiciary Opera*, pp. 2 to 12 being numbered in the usual fashion in arabic numerals. The signatures are [A] to B (two sheets, each 4 leaves, the last leaf being blank), preceded by two unsigned leaves carrying the Title-page and Advertisement. The book was apparently issued without a Half-title.

Issued sewed, probably with wrapper. I have met with only one copy, that in the Bodleian Library. The leaves of this copy measure $9\frac{7}{16}$ by $7\frac{5}{16}$ inches. The book is printed on paper water-marked 1813.

In his Advertisement, Sir Alexander says: 'The songs of the Justiciary Opera were the light pastime of men who made no contemptible figure in grave pursuits. We know not if any of them were ever committed to writing; many are lost and forgotten, and those that are here preserved are given from memory. . . . Those marked with an Asterisk are Interpolations.'

The initials on the title-page clearly stand for 'Cullen, Maclaurin, and Boswell'. ('I.C.C.', I suppose, stands for 'Jurisconsulti'.) Sir Alexander's interpolations are more considerable than the original

songs which he has recorded. Some of the latter are practically identical with corresponding portions of Dr. Duncan's *Justiciary Garland*, viz., the 'Pannel's Defence', the 'Petition to the Court for Banishment', and the 'Address to the Jury'. The cases, however, are quite different. In Dr. Duncan's version a Highland McCraw has stolen something, is convicted and sentenced, but petitions the King; in Sir Alexander's the prisoner has assaulted a gauger, and is acquitted, to the great disgust of the Bench.

This piece is readily accessible in R. H. Smith's edition of the *Poetical Works* of Sir Alexander Boswell, and James Maidment's *Court of Session Garland.*

7. The Court of Session Garland, ? 1825

This poem, 'The Court of Session Garland, By James Boswell, Esq. Tune—"*Logan Water*"', appears with voluminous notes in the first (1825) and all succeeding editions of Robert Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh* (ii. 158). It is evident from Chambers's note, however, that it had previously been printed: 'This Jeu d'esprit, which, though already in print, cannot be considered as published, was written between the years 1771 and 1774. The date could not have been more nearly ascertained, than between 1767 and 1774; as all the Judges who are mentioned in its verses sat together upon the Bench, without any change in their body during that singularly long period —had it not been denoted by an allusion to a circumstance in the life of Lord Monboddo [a famous trial involving a horse; see Part II, stanza 4 of the poem], that it must have been composed at a period subsequent to 1771. . . . It is said that Mr. John Maclaurin, son of the eminent Colin Maclaurin, and himself a man of no ordinary abilities, and afterwards a Judge under the title of Lord Dreghorn, had a share in the composition of the Garland. *Certes*, he was extremely fond of the Poem, and used to sing it frequently in the slow, drawling, *naif* style, which added so much to its value in the estimation of a last-century hearer.'

What Chambers's source was I have not discovered. From the way he speaks of it, I gather that it was some privately printed affair, issued in a very small edition. Maidment repeats the poem in *The Court of Session Garland* (indeed, it gives his book its name), but merely follows Chambers.

There is a manuscript of the poem in the National Library of Scotland which is dated 1770 and bears the heading 'Song to the Tune

of Logan Water, by James Boswell, son to Lo. Auchinleck' ('Boswell as an Advocate', *Jurid. Rev.*, xxxiv. 207). The stanza referring to Monboddo's horse may have been interpolated later.

8. *Errata and Observations on the Tour to the Hebrides*, Croker's Third Edition of the Life of Johnson, 1848

It is possible that Croker's first and second editions may contain some manuscript material by Boswell other than letters. The indexes, however, reveal none. The third edition prints for the first time (pp. 825–6) the 'Remarks' on Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* which Boswell sent to Johnson in 1775 immediately after reading the book. This transcript Croker says he had from the original manuscript in the Anderdon Collection, dating his note 1846 (p. 427, n. 6). The manuscript, which is not holograph but has insertions in Boswell's hand, is now in the Adam Collection. A comparison of Croker's text with that given by Mr. Adam in his *Catalogue* (see *post*) shows that Croker's text is incomplete and somewhat garbled.

9. Boswelliana, 1856

[*Printer's ornament*] | Boswelliana. | [*Printer's ornament*]
(In Miscellanies of the Philobiblion Society, Vol. II . . .
London, Printed by Charles Whittingham, 1855–6, no. 15.)

This is a square octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. 27, as follows: Fly-title, as above, Preface signed 'R.M.M.', pp. 3–5; *Boswelliana*, pp. 6–27. Signatures, [1] to 3, in fours; 4, two leaves. There is a running headline, *Boswelliana*, and the pages are numbered in arabic numerals. The editor was Richard Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton), the owner of the manuscript. For notes on its character and provenance, see *post*, item 13). In this publication he printed only a small portion, limiting his selection 'to anecdotes personal to the writer, and to his remarks on men and things'. At the same time he printed a supplement, with separate pagination, which, because of its extreme rarity, calls for separate entry.

10. *Lord Houghton's Folium Reservatum*, 1856

Boswelliana. | Folium Reservatum.

Octavo, pp. 8, as follows: No Title-page, but p. 1 has a heading as above; Text, pp. [1]–8, one half-sheet. There is a running headline, *Boswelliana*, and the pages are numbered in arabic numerals.

This contains, to use Mr. Fitzgerald's words, 'a number of stories in the coarse style of Boswell's day' (*Life of Boswell*, ii. 73 n.). As a matter of fact, not all the stories are coarse; some of them are in Rogers's *Boswelliana*. The majority, however, have not yet been printed elsewhere.

I know of only one copy of this 'curious production, that in the possession of Colonel Isham. The leaves of this copy (trimmed) measure $8\frac{1}{8}$ by $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

11. **Letters to Temple, 1856** (dated 1857)

Letters of James Boswell, addressed to the Rev. W. J. Temple. Now first published from the original MSS. With an Introduction and Notes. London, Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, . . . 1857.

Octavo, pp. xlviii + 407.

Although now completely superseded, this book was for upwards of seventy years the most important work in Boswellian biography. Because of the absence of any adequate memoir, the anonymous editor found it necessary to imbed the letters (97 in number) in a commentary which makes some pretensions to be called a Life. This miscellaneous matter is interesting, often suggestive, but generally inaccurate. 'In preparing the correspondence for the press an editorial licence was used which can only be regarded as unhappy. Dates were omitted, illegible passages cancelled, and whole paragraphs dropped out. Words and, in one or two instances, even sentences were introduced without mention of the fact that they were editorially supplied. Remarks which amused the editor were italicized, and indelicate passages suppressed' (Professor Tinker's *Preface* to his edition of the *Letters*, i. vii). The manuscripts are now in the Morgan Library and have been accurately and completely published by Professor Tinker. At the end of the Temple correspondence the editor printed a selection from the *Letters between the Hon. Andrew Erskine and James Boswell, Esq.*

The details of the publication of this collection have been shrouded in quite unnecessary mystery through the determination of the editor, Sir Philip Francis, to remain anonymous. In his preface to the reprint of the *Letters*, 1908 (see next item), Mr. Thomas Seccombe correctly identified him by conjecture. It is now possible to go farther. There has recently come into Professor Tinker's possession a portfolio of papers formerly belonging to Francis. By Professor Tinker's kind

permission I am able to present from these papers a complete account of the recovery of the manuscripts and their publication.

Mr. Powlett, about whom Temple and Boswell corresponded so anxiously, married Temple's eldest daughter, and subsequently resided in France, near Boulogne. He must have taken with him his father-in-law's papers, which were through neglect or accident dispersed. About 1840 Major W. Stone, H.E.I.C.S. (by a misprint called a 'clergyman' in the preface), purchased the manuscripts of the letters from a shopkeeper, Madame Noël, in Boulogne, who was using them for wrapping-paper. She had bought them of a hawker, and knew nothing of their history. The bundle which Major Stone secured contained, besides Boswell's letters, letters by Nichols, Claxton, Mrs. Temple, and others of Temple's correspondents, besides some papers in Temple's own hand. On Major Stone's death (which must have happened subsequent to January 1849) the letters passed to his nephew, Mr. Augustus F. Boyse of the Inner Temple. Mr. Edmund G. Hornby (1825–96), then also a barrister of the Inner Temple, saw them, and suggested to J. E. Taylor, the printer, that he arrange for their publication. Mr. Taylor took the matter up with Richard Bentley, publisher, who agreed to publish the book in an edition of 750 copies, Hornby to have half profits, of which fifty pounds might be advanced on account. Hornby accepted this proposal, reserving the right to make new arrangements for the second edition, and asking for half of the fifty pounds at once so that he could buy the manuscripts from their owner. These negotiations were carried on in the autumn of 1853. Mr. Hornby, however, found the duties of his profession too exacting to allow him to carry through the undertaking. From September 1853 to January 1855 he was British commissioner on the Anglo-American Commission for settling claims, and in August 1855 was made British commissioner to transact the Turkish loan, which called him to Constantinople. He remained there and became in 1857 Judge of the Supreme Consular Court. In 1862 he was knighted. He later became Chief Judge of the Supreme Court of China and Japan, and in 1876 retired with a large pension.

When Mr. Hornby left England, he had done little more with the letters than select and arrange them. The main work of editing was assigned to Philip Francis, Esq. (1822–76), barrister of the Middle Temple, who states in a preface prepared for a second edition that he is 'responsible for any defects that may be found in the preparation of the volume for the press'. In 1861 Francis followed Hornby to Constantinople, where he became consul-general and Judge in the

Supreme Consular Court. He was knighted in 1868. (See Dod's *Peerage*, 1892, p. 421; Walford's *County Families*, 1873, pp. 384, 516; Boase's *Modern English Biography*, i. 1099, v. 701.)

The portfolio of papers now owned by Professor Tinker consists largely of notes and corrections for a second edition. Among these is a preface drawn up jointly by Hornby and Francis, relating most of the information I have given above. It was to have been signed with Francis's name. Many of the notes are highly valuable. It is a pity that the proposed second edition never appeared, for the corrections would have removed most of the worst faults of the volume. Bentley and Hornby, however, were unable to come to terms. Hornby seems to have wished to retain the entire proprietorship and to have asked Bentley to publish the book on commission; this Bentley would not accede to, though he was willing to give Hornby two-thirds of the profits.

The reviews of the first edition show that the book actually appeared late in 1856. As these negotiations for the second edition were carried on in 1857, the sale must have been rapid.

12. *New Edition*, 1908

Letters of James Boswell to the Rev. W. J. Temple, with an Introduction by Thomas Seccombe. London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1908.

Octavo, pp. xxix + 348.

The text merely reprints the edition of 1857. Mr. Seccombe's introduction presents valuable information concerning Francis and the Rev. Mr. Powlett. Francis's original introduction is omitted, and an index is added.

13. **Boswelliana, 1874**

Boswelliana, the Commonplace Book of James Boswell. With a Memoir and Annotations by the Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D., . . . and introductory Remarks by the Right Honourable Lord Houghton. London, Printed for the Grampian Club, 1874.

Octavo, pp. xxiii + 343.

Pp. 203–329 of this work give, with the exception of 'a few entries which transgressed on decorum', the whole of the collection of anecdotes from which Lord Houghton's earlier selection had been

made. Professor Tinker, who has transcribed the entire manuscript, now in the possession of Lord Houghton's son, the Marquess of Crewe, tells me that Dr. Rogers's omissions are considerable and his accuracy not above question. Dr. Rogers's *Memoir* is carefully written, and usually accurate; it was in its day the most ambitious biography of Boswell yet attempted. It still remains, so far as I am aware, the only recorded source for one important document: Boswell's Will (p. 183), for the first time printed from the original manuscript. Dr. Rogers's annotations on the anecdotes are extremely useful and such as few people could have assembled. The index is, however, sadly deficient.

The provenance of the manuscript is interesting. Up to 1927 the only portions of Boswell's great collection of manuscripts at Auchinleck that escaped from the hands of the family were a few scraps that James Boswell the Younger had with him in London at the time of his death. This manuscript, which is not, properly speaking, a common-place book, but rather a portfolio of loose sheets and scraps of paper thrown together with little apparent order, together with the note-book and proof-sheets now in the Adam Collection, was sold at public auction with the rest of the younger Boswell's library. After passing through several hands, it came into Lord Houghton's possession.

14. Fitzgerald's Life, 1891

Life of James Boswell . . . by Percy Fitzgerald, M.A., F.S.A., . . . London, Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly, 1891.

Octavo, 2 vols.

This work presents, in a loose and inaccurate manner, a great mass of new Boswellian material collected by extensive research in eighteenth-century magazines. I believe, however, that apart from the letters to Wilkes the only compositions of Boswell's not previously printed are 'Specimen of Parliament: a Poem' (i. 28), from the manuscript in the British Museum, and possibly the Address to the Prince of Wales, from the minutes of the Quarter Sessions of the County of Ayr, May 5, 1789 (ii. 61–3. See *Letters*, ii. 371). This probably appeared in the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, but was not printed in the *London Gazette*, because, being addressed to the Prince rather than the King, it was not 'official'.

15. Boswell's Note Book, 1893

The Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed by Alfred Morrison (Second Series, 1882–1893). Volume I. A–B. Printed for Private Circulation, 1893.

On pp. 366–73 appears for the first time a complete transcript of the one pocket note-book or journal used by Boswell in collecting material for the *Life of Johnson* hitherto accessible to scholars. It was sold in the sale of the library of James Boswell the Younger, 1825, and passed into the Anderdon Collection, thence into Mr. Morrison's great Collection of Autographs, and is now in the possession of Mr. Adam. Mr. Chapman (see *post*) says 'the print is not very accurate'. At any rate, this text is quite superseded by his own and by Mr. Adam's facsimile.

16. Facsimile of the Note Book, 1919

Besides printing the complete text in his Catalogue, Mr. Adam has had made for presentation to friends a photographic facsimile of the entire note-book, reproducing faithfully not only the text but also the leather cover and the inter-leaves of blotting paper with which the original is furnished. Fifty copies only were made. There is no title-page, but the preface by A. Edward Newton, Esq. is dated 'September 6, 1919'.

17. *First published Edition*, 1925

Boswell's Note Book, 1776–1777 . . . Now first published from the unique Original in the Collection of R. B. Adam, Esq., with the corresponding Passages from the first Edition of the Life printed on opposite Pages. London, Humphrey Milford, 1925. (Oxford Miscellany Series.)

Octavo in fours, irregular pagination.

The character of this publication is sufficiently indicated by the title. Mr. Chapman (who modestly signs the preface with his initials only) gives a history of the composition of the note-book, re-arranges the entries so as to be easily read in the logical order, and adds a Table of Contents, Notes, and an Index.

18. Boswell's Proof-Sheets, 1894

Boswell's Proof Sheets. By George Birkbeck Hill. *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1894 (lxxiv. 657–68). Reprinted in

'Johnson Club Papers by Various Hands'. London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1899.

In this article Dr. Hill gives a large selection from the manuscript corrections and notes made by Boswell in the proof-sheets of the first edition of the *Life of Johnson*, then, as now, in the Adam Collection. The essay is capital reading, but for scholarly purposes is superseded by Mr. Chapman's. See no. 20 below.

19. Facsimiles of the Proof-Sheets, 1923

Reproduction of some of the original Proof-Sheets of Boswell's Life of Johnson. Printed by R. B. Adam for his Friends. Buffalo, New York, 1923.

Quarto, unpaged.

In this are reproduced by photography in actual size 63 of the more interesting of the proof-sheets of the first volume of the *Life*, between pp. 1 and 223. An *Introduction* is furnished by A. Edward Newton, and a brief *Postlude* by Mr. Adam.

20. Boswell's Proof-Sheets, 1926

Boswell's Proof-Sheets. By R. W. Chapman. *London Mercury*, November and December 1926, xv. 50–8; 171–80.

Prints *verbatim* and entire the more important of Boswell's annotations under the following heads: 1. Boswell and his Printer. 2. Various Corrections. 3. Alterations of *Ipsissima Verba*. 4. The Cancel Pages. This is an article of the greatest importance in the study of Boswell's text.

21. Catalogue of the Adam Collection, 1921

Catalogue of the Johnsonian Collection of R. B. Adam. With Introduction by Dr. Charles Grosvenor Osgood of Princeton University. Privately printed, March, 1921. Buffalo, N.Y.

Octavo, unpaged.

Besides several hitherto unprinted letters of Boswell's, Mr. Adam gives the full text of the note-book, and of Boswell's 'Remarks on Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*'. He has also transcribed the inscriptions in many books once owned by Boswell,

and reproduced in facsimile some of the proof-sheets of the *Life*, including the very interesting proofs of the three stages of the frontispiece, with Boswell's notes.

22. Boswell's Fee Book, 1922

Boswell as an Advocate. By T. B. Simpson. *Juridical Review*, September, 1922 (xxxiv. 201 ff.).

This article prints extracts from Boswell's first brief, and from his manuscript fee-book, now in the National Library of Scotland. So far as I know, no more of the latter manuscript has ever been published.

23. Letters, 1924

Letters of James Boswell, collected and edited by Chauncey Brewster Tinker, Sterling Professor of English Literature in Yale University. . . . Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1924.

Octavo, 2 vols., continuous pagination.

The first collected edition of Boswell's letters, and incomparably the most important body of materials extant for writing the Life of Boswell. Professor Tinker prints 389 letters, of which he says nearly one hundred are here for the first time published. The letters to Temple, which make up the bulk of the collection, are printed with only the slightest omissions from the original manuscripts in the Morgan Library. The greater part of the other letters which had previously appeared in print are also given from the manuscripts. The Erskine correspondence only is omitted, as having 'been written with an eye single to the printing-press'. The annotation is full and detailed without being cumbersome. 'I have attempted,' says Professor Tinker, 'not merely to elucidate the text but also to discharge, to some extent, the office of a biographer by recording dates and pointing out the significance of events in the life of the author when I could do so without too great an expense of space. If at some future time a biographer should undertake the delicate task of writing the life of Boswell, he will here, I think, find a considerable body of material ready to his hand.' The frequency of my references to 'Letters' amply demonstrates the modesty of this assertion. Indeed, this work may justly be called the first extended and scholarly study in Boswellian, as distinguished from Johnsonian, scholarship.

24. Bodleian Manuscript of Poems, 1925

A. Bozzy and Yorick. By Frederick A. Pottle. *Blackwood's Magazine*, March 1925 (ccxvii. 297–313).

This prints for the first time portions of Boswell's 'Poetical Epistle to Tristram Shandy' from the original manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Douce MS. 193. This manuscript (the greater part of which is still unpublished) came to the Bodleian with the papers of Francis Douce, who probably had it from his friend, James Boswell the Younger. It is a collection of short poems, written on both sides of over one hundred sheets of paper of varying sizes, the poems being mainly of the years 1759–62. This piece was probably written early in 1761.

B. 'Bozzy' was a bold young Blade. By Frederick A. Pottle. New York *Times Book Review*, Aug. 23, 1925 (pp. 1, 13).

This article (of which the proper title is 'Boswell and the Jacobite Lady') prints for the first time portions of Boswell's verse letter to Lady Anne Mackintosh, 1761.

C. Three new Legal Ballads by James Boswell. By Frederick A. Pottle. *Juridical Review*, September 1925.

Prints for the first time Boswell's 'Song to Lord Kames' [*Of all the judges in the Land*], dated in the manuscript 1766.

25. The Hypochondriack, 1928

The Hypochondriack . . . Edited by Margery Bailey, Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Department of English, Stanford University. Stanford University Press, 1928.

Octavo, 2 vols.

These essays were printed in the *London Magazine* in Boswell's lifetime (see pp. 225–7), but have never before been collected. Miss Bailey reprints the entire series with elaborate annotation, three prefatory essays, and a good index.

Addenda.

In the notes to his edition of the *Letters* Professor Tinker has recorded those works which still have to be depended on for the text of some of Boswell's letters. When (as is usually the case) he has printed directly from the original manuscript, there seems little use

in recording books or articles which have previously printed the same letters in whole or in part. I append, however, a brief list of works not included in the preceding list which present various scraps of Boswellian composition other than letters:

1. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge. Catalogue of the Sale of the Auchinleck Library, June 23, 1893.

A very useful work. It prints in whole or in part many of the autograph inscriptions made by Boswell in his books. Some of the more interesting are given in an article by Percy Fitzgerald, 'Some Bozzyana', *Gent. Mag.*, Feb. 1902 (ccxcii. 191).

2. The Amenities of Book-Collecting and kindred Affections. By A. Edward Newton. Boston, The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1918.

The sixth chapter, 'James Boswell—His Book', contains as illustrations some excellent facsimiles of book inscriptions by Boswell.

3. Young Boswell . . . By Chauncey Brewster Tinker . . . Boston, The Atlantic Monthly Press [1922].

The texts of the many new letters in this volume are now superseded for scholarly purposes by the *Letters*. The facsimile illustrations, however, are varied and valuable.

4. The Incredible Boswell. By Frederick A. Pottle. *Blackwood's Magazine*, August 1925 (ccxviii. 149–65).

Prints some of the more amusing of the manuscript notes in Boswell's file of the *London Chronicle*.

PART IV

A DOUBTFUL WORK

A | View | of the | Edinburgh Theatre | during the | Summer Season, 1759. | Containing, | an Exact List of the several Pieces represented, and | impartial Observations on each Performance. | [*Long rule*] | By a Society of Gentlemen. | [*Long rule*] | Quid verum atque decens curo & rogo & omnis in hoc sum. | Hor. | The worthy Objects of our humble Care | Are Truth and Decency her Sister fair. | These, Friends alike to Authors, as to Men, | Should ever guide each just and modest Pen. | [*Long double rules*] | London: | Printed for A. Morley, at Gay's Head, near | Beaufort's-Buildings, in the Strand. MDCCLX. | [Price One Shilling.]

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. 50+one leaf of advertisements; consisting of: Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [1–2]; Dedication *To West Digges, Esq;*, pp. [3–4]; *Preface*, pp. [5–8]; Text of *A View*, &c., pp. 9–50; List of four books 'lately printed, and sold by A. Morley' (with blank reverse) one unpaged leaf at the end. Pages 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 are actually numbered in roman numerals i, ii, i, ii, iii, iv. There are no headlines, the pages being numbered centrally in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. The signatures are [A] to F (six half-sheets, each 4 leaves), plus G, two leaves. The book was apparently issued without a Half-title.

Issued 'stabbed', probably without wrapper. There are copies in the Harvard College Library, and in the Library of Yale University, which also has a rotograph copy (available for loan). The leaves of the Harvard copy (which have been trimmed) measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

This pamphlet appeared in February 1760, being advertised in *Lond. Chron.*, 16 Feb. (vii. 164). It seems highly probable that it was written by Boswell with some assistance from Francis Gentleman, actor, whose edition of *Oroonoko*, prefaced by a dedication to Boswell, appeared from the Foulis Press at almost precisely the same time. If it is Boswell's, it is the earliest of his separate publications, and therefore deserves full treatment, even if the conclusions arrived at are disappointingly indefinite.

A

VIEW

OF THE

EDINBURGH THEATRE

DURING THE

SUMMER SEASON, 1759.

Containing,

An Exact List of the several Pieces represented, and impartial Observations on each Performance.

By a SOCIETY of GENTLEMEN.

Quid verum atque decens curo & rogo & omnis in hoc sum.
HOR.

The worthy Objects of our humble Care
Are Truth and Decency her Sister fair.
These, Friends alike to Authors, as to Men,
Should ever guide each just and modest Pen.

LONDON:

Printed for A. MORLEY, at Gay's Head, near Beaufort's-Buildings, in the Strand. MDCCLX.

[Price One Shilling.]

I was first led to suspect Boswell's hand in the piece by the evidence of style; the idea of Gentleman's collaboration came from what seems to me to be a significant or punning use in the preface of the words 'gentlemen' and 'gentleman': 'But this project yielded to the Opinion of another Gentleman, who suggested, &c.' (p. ii). Further investigation of Gentleman's career and writings makes this plausible.

Nearly all our knowledge of this person is derived from a rambling autobiographical memoir, 'A Summary View of the Stage', prefixed to his comedy *The Modish Wife* (1775). In it occurs the following passage:

'Having received an invitation from *Edinburgh*, I went thither, and met there, on my arrival, an extreme disagreeable disappointment; Mr. *Digges* and Mrs. *Ward*, two very popular favourites, instead of joining the company as was expected, decamped to *Dublin*. . . . Judge of my regret when I was *obliged* to march on, with a very insignificant figure, the first night in *Othello*, and the second in *Hotspur*, parts I would ever have wished to decline; after all I met indulgence, and the season for six weeks, during which time I had the misfortune to be *acting* manager—a most disagreeable station! —went smoothly on; at length, considering some friends I had brought to the company . . . ill used, I resigned, with secret joy, the reins of painful government. . . . An entire breach ensued; and at the end of the season I parted with the managers, as they stiled themselves, on terms not the most polite, . . . and wishing to see *Glasgow*, a city I had heard much of, I went thither without any public view' (p. 12).

The jaunty disregard for dates in this passage makes it somewhat difficult to fix the period of Gentleman's connexion with the theatre at Edinburgh. It must, however, have been through the winter season of 1758–9, for that was the time during which Digges was in Ireland.[1] Tate Wilkinson also records the squabble in an obscure way, giving us to understand that Gentleman was playing under the name of Cook (*Memoirs*, ii. 91).

The *View* deals only with the performances of the summer of 1759, from 20 June to 20 August. Dexter, an actor from Dublin, had been imported to head the bill, together with a certain James Aicken, who later became manager. Now Dexter was an old acquaintance of

[1] Since writing this, I have seen in the Isham Collection a playbill of the Edinburgh theatre, 18 Dec. 1758, in which Gentleman is cast for the title rôle in 'The Earl of Essex'.

Gentleman's, a person for whom he had evidently little affection. '[Dexter]', he says, 'was placid in public and private life, gave no particular offence or pleasure on or off the stage' (*Summary View*, p. 30). We should expect, if Gentleman had any hand in this pamphlet, to find Dexter and the managers treated with coldness and the 'friends' whom Gentleman 'had brought to the company' (Wilkinson says they included Mrs. Parsons, Mrs. Mozeen, and Mr. and Mrs. Fitzmaurice) frequently praised. Which is precisely what occurs. Nor is this the only evidence which connects Gentleman with the pamphlet. It is the sort of thing he was always doing. I have mentioned the *Summary View of the Stage*, but the best known of his works of this kind is the *Dramatic Censor*, a periodical paper which ran for two years and was collected in two volumes in 1770. It treats of many of the plays that are reviewed in the *View of the Edinburgh Stage*, and thus offers a means of comparison. Certain passages, without being complete parallels, seem to me to be at least significant:

'We are persuaded, that it would be difficult for any Man to succeed better in his Cast of Parts [than Love]. His *Boniface* was altogether the hearty, old *English* Landlord; with which, at the same Time, we could distinguish the exquisite Mixture of the Humorist, which the ingenious Author intended' (*View*, p. 14).

'Mr. Love exhibits the ignorant, jocund effrontery of Boniface, equal to any one we recollect' (*Dramatic Censor*, i. 35).

'Although Mr. *Stamper's* humorous Manner of playing *Polonius* may be highly applauded by the merrier Part of the Audience, yet we must take the Liberty to give it as our Opinion, that he mistakes the Character in making it so ridiculous' (*View*, pp. 12–13).

'Polonius is drawn with some tint of the whimsical, yet we cannot suppose him meant for that laughing-stock, that buffoon of Tragedy, he is generally represented' (*Dramatic Censor*, i. 57).

'Her [Mrs. Cowper's] arch Attention to the *Captain's* Embarrassment about his *little Boy*, plainly evinced her Depth in theatric Knowledge' (*View*, p. 26).

'The lady's hint, of his little boy at the castle, is arch and pleasant, and Plume's following confusion very natural' (*Dramatic Censor*, i. 64).

It should in fairness be added that the general views expressed in the two works on certain plays (e.g. *Macbeth* and *The Beggar's Opera*) are quite different. The *Dramatic Censor* is written in the most uncompromisingly moralistic strain, no play being approved

which does not inculcate a 'moral, without which no dramatic piece can have intrinsic worth'. But I do not think that Gentleman was the principal author. I should rather suppose that Boswell actually wrote the pamphlet after much conversation with Gentleman and others, and probably submitted it to Gentleman for correction.

I shall now tabulate the evidence for attributing the work to Boswell:

1. Its genesis is strongly suggestive of him. In the *Edinburgh Chronicle* for 23 June 1759 appeared the following letter:

'To the Publishers of the Edinburgh Chronicle:

'Theatrical Criticisms are allowed, by the best Judges, to be of very general use, not only to the Audience, but, in a particular manner, to the Performers, who are, by this means, taught to supply what is defective, correct what is faulty, and improve what is thought worthy of commendation: By this means, too, any little abuses that creep in, are properly taken notice of, and prevented from gaining ground. For these reasons, it were much to be wish'd, that such an Undertaking might be carried on here. I am persuaded, that we have a number of Gentlemen in this City, whose excellent Taste and Judgment abundantly qualify them for it. Would they, by turns, at their leisure-hours, give a short account of each Performance, it would not only be attended with public advantage, but might afford an agreeable Entertainment to many of your Readers. The following is humbly offered as a Specimen of such a Work.'

There follows a criticism of *Oroonoko*, the first play presented for the summer season. The next number of the paper has a review; so has the number for 30 June. In the number for 7 July is a fourth review, followed by a letter signed 'Censor', probably by the same hand, protesting against the proposed performance of *Amphytrion*. The reviews then cease abruptly.

When I find all these newspaper jottings collected together and published in a pamphlet, I am at once reminded of Boswell's tactics in bringing out the *Letters of Lady Jane Douglas*. And my suspicion is increased when I find the introductory letter prefaced by the following sentence: 'In the Month of *June* 1759, there appeared in the *Edinburgh Chronicle* the following neat and very genteel Letter.' Moreover, the sentiments expressed in the letter are Boswellian. Compare it with what he says in the last of his essays 'On the Profession of a Player': 'A judicious and impartial theatrical censor must be of considerable service to our players. We all remember the

excellent humourous account which the Spectator gives of the Trunk-maker . . . I wish we had such a *literary trunkmaker* who would from time to time publish his remarks; they would not only be of service to our present players; but would preserve many curious and useful hints for future performers' (*Lond. Mag.*, xxxix. 514).

2. The pamphlet is dedicated to Boswell's boyhood idol, West Digges, the actor. In the Donaldson Miscellany (ii. 77) is an *Epistle to Mr. Digges* by Boswell, written at this same period, begging him to return from Ireland:

> 'Come then, delight our wond'ring eyes,
> Come and illume our northern skies,
> Come, please an ever-grateful age,
> And yet restore our sinking stage.'

The dedication is just such as the youthful Boswell might have written: 'As to your *private Character*, into whatever scenes of Folly and Imprudence the World may imagine you have been hurried, through a too great Gaiety and Easiness of Disposition; yet, Sir, allow me to say, without Flattery, that if they knew your many amiable Qualifications as well as I do, they would look upon your Imperfections with the most favourable Eye; they would pardon, excuse and forget them.' In the *Memoirs of the Edinburgh Theatre, during the Winter Season, 1773–4* (see *post*), Boswell again goes out of his way to praise Digges.

3. In the *Lond. Mag.*, May 1774, appears an article with a title strikingly similar to that of the pamphlet: *Memoirs of the Edinburgh Theatre during the Winter Season, 1773–4*. There can be no doubt that Boswell wrote it. Besides the affectionate reference to Digges, the author speaks of 'the shock which credit suffered in Scotland, by the late numerous bankruptcies', a shock so severe that 'the lawyers in the court of session murmured on account of a famine of fees', and ends with a reference to Goldsmith's death. The similarity of the two titles is remarkable.

4. On p. 22 the author of the *View*, in some remarks on the *Mock Doctor*, refers the reader to 'that ingenious Work, *The Actor*'. This is a treatise by Dr. John Hill which appeared in 1750, and in a revised form in 1755. The author of the *View* has in mind p. 238 of the latter edition. In the third of the essays 'On the Profession of a Player' Boswell gives a list of works on acting, in which he especially praises this work: 'Dr. Hill's Actor, or a Treatise on the Art of Playing, is none of the worst productions of that multifarious

author; and, if I am not mistaken, players may learn many useful lessons from it, while his other readers, who compose the audience at our theatres, may be assisted to judge with more candour and discernment' (*Lond. Mag.*, xxxix. 513).

However, in spite of this array of evidence, I still feel it necessary to leave the question of authorship 'doubtful'. The external evidence, while it confirms the attribution in some respects, is not satisfactory in others. In the first place Morley, who published this pamphlet, is in no way connected with Boswell's known publications. In general this is a point of some importance in judging the evidence for Boswellian authorship. However, *The Cub at Newmarket* appeared two years later with the imprint of a publisher with whom Boswell seems never to have had any further dealings, and the fact that the *View*, if Boswell's, comes at the very beginning of the list, before he had established relations with Wilkie, Flexney, or Dilly, makes the objection less valid. There are perhaps stronger objections. The work has never been connected in any way with Boswell. It is not mentioned in the Erskine Correspondence, though all his other literary ventures at the time (including even *Observations on the Minor*) are there alluded to. Moreover, it is in a mysterious manner connected with a series of reviews, also by 'a society of gentlemen', which ran in the *Scots Magazine* for December 1753, January, February, and March 1754 (xv. 610–12; xvi. 43–5, 90–3, 142–3). The two sets have exactly the same structure, and present exactly the same views on particular actors and plays. The *Scots Magazine* series cannot be by Boswell, for he was only thirteen when it appeared, nor can it be by Gentleman, who was not in Scotland at the time. The author of the *View* makes direct reference to the earlier series as follows: 'In the Winter 1753, 4, . . . we were entertained in *The Scots Magazine* with *Theatrical Anecdotes*; the Author or Authors of which, in a very genteel, sensible and candid Manner, pointed out the great Excellency of Mr. *Lee* in *Bayes*, and the Deficiency, nay palpable Absurdity of Mr. *Love*; who, in their Opinion, was a mere Burlesque on Burlesque. In answer to which, some raw, Fresh-water Scribler had the Impudence to pester the Public, with a Parcel of flimsy, indigested, sophistical Arguments, cloathed in a frothy, flippant, pedantic Stile, and interlarded with Dashes of illiberal Abuse and Scurrility. These were received with proportionable Contempt, and remained the Sport of every hissing Coffee-house, till a judicious and spirited Reply made them at once descend to the Regions of Oblivion' (pp. 33–4).

Is this an author's defence of his own work? Or is it a youthful and intemperate defence by a younger author of an older who has encouraged him? Not, I think, the former, for the 'judicious and spirited reply' which the author himself wrote (*Scots Mag.*, xvi. 90) is very temperate. There is a statement in Boswell's autobiographical memoir that deserves attention in this connexion. He began, he says, 'very early . . . to shew a propensity to distinguish himself in literary composition', and from the same source we learn that 'he was encouraged by the late Lord Somerville, to whose memory he pays a grateful tribute' (*Europ. Mag.*, xix. 323). The 'grateful tribute' is in the *Life of Johnson* (iv. 50 n. 2); it again refers to Lord Somerville's 'kindness to me, at a very early period. He was the first person of high rank that took particular notice of me in the way most flattering to a young man, fondly ambitious of being distinguished for his literary talents'.

What 'very early' writing of Boswell's was it that attracted Lord Somerville's attention? The poems in the *Scots Magazine*? Possibly, though they seem almost too slight. It must be remembered that Lord Somerville was one of the most active supporters of the struggling theatre in Edinburgh. Indeed, he was so much concerned for its welfare that he made some of the players nominally his servants to protect them from the charge of vagrancy (J. Jackson, *History of the Scottish Stage*, p. 16). Is it not possible that Lord Somerville wrote the series in the *Scots Magazine*, and that Boswell wrote the *View*, with some assistance from Gentleman, on the same plan, thus establishing himself in his lordship's good graces? In that case, Lord Somerville may have arranged for the publication, which would somewhat explain how the book came to be published by Morley.

If this could be proved, it would cast a great deal of light on an important and confused chapter in Boswell's life. It would make clear that the dedication of Gentleman's *Oroonoko* early in 1760 was the result of a friendship of fifteen months or more, not of two or three. Indeed, how do we know that Boswell did not go to Glasgow so as to continue in Gentleman's company? or perhaps more probably that Gentleman did not go to Glasgow to continue in Boswell's? And it would also make clear what that kindness of Lord Somerville's was for which Boswell was always so grateful.

PART V

WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO BOSWELL WRONGLY OR WITH INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE

1. Dedication to 'Oroonoko: or the Royal Slave. A Tragedy. Altered from Southerne, by Francis Gentleman. . . . Glasgow, Printed by Robert and Andrew Foulis, 1760'.

It has been suggested that Boswell himself wrote this dedication, of which he quotes the last four lines with great approval in his autobiographical memoir in *Europ. Mag.* There seem to be no grounds for the attribution. Gentleman wrote extensively in verse, and, although these lines are as bad as any of Boswell's, I see in them no traces of his style. As the book is very rare, I think it will be useful to print here the entire dedication:

TO JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.

How can the muse with burthen'd pinions soar?
No flow'rs appear among the winter's store.
Remov'd from Fortune's vivifying heat,
Almost within the Frigid Zone of fate.
Can shiv'ring fancy fondly hope to rise,
Through the rough regions of tempestuous skies?
'Tis madness to attempt—yet Reason, proud,
With God-like energy thus cries aloud:
'Let fools the deity of Fortune own;
'I view alike a cottage or a throne.
'Intrinsic worth, alone, has charms for me;
'The worth of virtue, and of liberty.
'Rouze, then, nor let an apathy of soul,
'Thy active free-born faculties controul:
'Behold aright the attributes of state;
'They are not always happy, who are great.
'Invoke Content to soothe thy troubled mind,
'Content, the opulence of human kind,
'That like the tuneful herald of the morn,
'When rosy-tinctured beams the East adorn,
'From his grass pallat mounts on cow'ring wings,
'And from his height serene—looks down on kings:

'Then, pleas'd, returns into his humble bed,
'And rests, while sleep from grandeur's couch is fled:
'Such is Content—her sacred aid invoke.—'
Sweet, as Orphean lyre, the voice that spoke;
As that could lull the savage herds to rest,
So this can calm the troubles of my breast:
'Tis done—care's furrow'd brow is render'd even,
The call of Reason is the call of Heav'n;
And, now, to justly dedicate those lays,
Which, through the parent-stock, must hope for praise;
From Southerne's muse existence must derive,
Must live through him, if they should chance to live.
Shall I for some exalted title seek,
And cringe to fortune, not to merit speak?
No—she disdains a task so meanly low,
In ev'ry shape to flattery a foe:
But where with honest pleasure she can find,
Sense, taste, politeness with good-nature join'd;
There, gladly, will she raise her humble voice,
Nor fears to tell that BOSWELL is her choice.

Glasgow, February 1760. FRANCIS GENTLEMAN.

2. The Shrubs of Parnassus . . . By J. Copywell of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq. . . . London, J. Newbery, 1760.

Attributed to Boswell in F. W. Fairholt's *Tobacco: Its History and Associations* (1859), p. 278. The author was William Woty.

3. A Summary of the Speeches, Arguments, and Determinations of the Right Honourable the Lords of Council and Session in Scotland, upon that important Cause, wherein His Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Others were Plaintiffs, and Archibald Douglas of Douglas, Esq., Defendant. With an Introductory Preface, giving an impartial and distinct Account of this Suit. By a Barrister at Law. London, J. Almon, 1767. (There were also pirated editions by Francis Robertson, Edinburgh, 1767, and another, Glasgow, 1767, without name of publisher.)

This compilation is attributed to Boswell in Halkett and Laing's *Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great*

Britain on the authority of the catalogue of the Signet Library. The attribution was apparently first suggested by a correspondent signing himself 'J. O.' in *N. & Q.*, 2 Ser. iv. 110 (1857). Percy Fitzgerald accepts it as Boswell's in his *Lady Jean, A Study of the Douglas Cause*, and quotes extensively from it (pp. 232 ff.). D. Nichol Smith in his valuable bibliography of Boswell in *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.* (x. 533), however, rejects it. It is certainly not Boswell's.

(*a*) It is much too impartial to be his.

(*b*) He refers to it twice in a way that shows he did not write it. This book was published in Aug. 1767 (*Lond. Chron.* xxii. 147), and no other account of the speeches appeared for several months. Yet in writing to Temple on 29 Aug. 1767 Boswell says, 'Do you wish to have the speeches of our judges? They are imperfect. You will soon have a better edition' (*Letters*, i. 125). In the preface to *The Essence of the Douglas Cause* (published in Nov. 1767) he says, 'I was present during the whole determination of this cause before the Court of Session. . . . I took very full notes, and I cannot help regretting that the speeches of several able judges have been published in a very partial manner.' It is not like Boswell to impugn in this way the accuracy of one of his own publications.

(*c*) In *Lond. Chron.*, 10 May 1768, he published a long letter signed 'Philocorsus', in which he had occasion to quote from the speeches. He chose not this version but that published by William Anderson, writer in Edinburgh, 1768 (evidently the 'better edition' he spoke of in his letter to Temple).

(*d*) In *Lond. Chron.*, Aug. 1767 (xxii. 156, 164, 172), several long extracts from this book were reprinted, including the greater part of Lord Auchinleck's speech. Boswell has not marked these extracts in any way, though he has marked as his all the extracts from *Dorando*.

4. Letter signed 'E.Y.', calling attention to the generous gifts made by certain English gentlemen to the Corsican cause, and contrasting unfavourably the efforts of the English with those of the Scotch in this connection. *Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1768 (xxxviii. 523).

Attributed to Boswell in Professor Tinker's *Nature's Simple Plan*, p. 51. In 1768 a mysterious newspaper correspondence concerning Corsica was conducted in the *London Chronicle* between Boswell and a 'Mr. Y. E.' (See xxiii. 347, 371.) We know from Boswell's file that

he was certainly not 'Y. E.', and it seems probable that 'Y. E.' and 'E. Y.' were the same person.

5. A North Briton Extraordinary: written by a young Scotsman, now a Volunteer in the Corsican Service . . . Corte. Printed, and sold by all the Booksellers in Europe, 1769. (There is another edition or impression which adds '[Price 1s 6d]' below the date, and a third, called 'Second Edition, with Additions. London: Printed for J. Knox, in the Strand, and sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country'. All three appeared early in 1769, and were all clearly from the same press.)

Provisionally attributed to Boswell in the *Catalogue* of the Library of the University of Edinburgh, and in William Cushing's *Initials and Pseudonyms*, 2d Ser., p. 157. In *N. & Q.*, cxlvii. 259, 403, I have published detailed arguments against this attribution, to which I may refer the curious. Since my experience with the *Ode to Mrs. Thrale*, I have been much less cocksure in denying attributions. But after a careful review of the whole matter I still believe that this one must be regarded as based on insufficient evidence. The opinions held by the 'young Scotsman' as to the disadvantages to Scotland of the Union may be roughly paralleled by certain expressions of Boswell's, all of considerably later date. But neither singly nor in combination can they be said to be *characteristic* of Boswell, and the style seems to me totally unlike his. The attribution was made, apparently, solely on the strength of the pseudonym; it is supported, so far as I can discover, by only one other bit of evidence: the spelling 'authour', which occurs once (p. 11, first edition), though the spelling 'author' occurs many times. 'Authour', as I have said in connexion with the *Ode to Mrs. Thrale*, is certainly characteristic of Boswell, in that he habitually employed that spelling which few other people affected. But it does occur in other writers with sufficient frequency to make it of little value as a test. The pseudonym, though to a modern it immediately suggests Boswell, would not so have singled him out in 1769. All the reviews of the period treat it and the Corsican imprint as a blind, but none of them suggests that Boswell was the author. He was by no means the only young Scotsman deeply interested in Corsica. The next item in this list is a fervent poem on Corsica, by a young Scotsman, certainly not Boswell, though he has been credited with it. There were other such effusions, particularly a poem called

The Cyrnean Hero by Boswell's boyhood friend the Rev. Robert Colvill of Dysart. I have been unable to discover any external evidence connecting Boswell with the pamphlet; in fact, such external evidence as there is tends the other way.

(*a*) The pamphlet appears to be by the same hand as one of the same title published in 1765, and certainly not Boswell's. (See *N. & Q.*, cxlvii. 260.)

(*b*) In *Lond. Chron.*, 18 Feb. 1769 (xxv. 161), appears a review containing a long extract from this pamphlet. Boswell has not marked it in any way in his own file. Unfortunately, this volume is not so carefully marked as some of the others (see the note under Periodical Works), but it seems to me highly improbable that he would have passed this long extract without a note or comment of some kind, had it been his own composition.

6. A Poetical Address, in Favour of the Corsicans . . . London, Printed for the Author, and sold by J. Almon, 1769. (There is a second edition with a considerably changed text and an altered title: Corsica: A Poetical Address. The Second Edition. Glasgow, Printed by Robert and Andrew Foulis, 1769.)

Attributed to Boswell in the *Catalogue* of the library of John Henry Wrenn (i. 94. Mr. T. J. Wise tells me this was on the authority of the late George A. Aitken, who sold the piece to Mr. Wrenn), and by David Murray, Esq., in his *Robert and Andrew Foulis*, p. 47. Mr. Murray thinks the original source of the attribution is Duncan's *Literary History of Glasgow*, 1886, p. 148. The author was William Richardson, professor of Latin at the University of Glasgow. The piece first appears with his name in one of the later editions of *Poems chiefly Rural* (1781), and is included in his *Poems and Plays* (1805, i. 156).

7. Letter in the *Caledonian Mercury* dated 'London, Feb. 28', giving an account of the speeches in the House of Lords on the decision of the Douglas Cause. Reprinted in *Scots Mag.*, Feb. 1769 (xxxi. 108–9), where the reference to the *Mercury*, but not the date, is given. It must have appeared in the first week of March 1769.

Attributed to Boswell in Percy Fitzgerald's *Lady Jean*, p. 251. There is no evidence to show that Boswell was in London on 27 Feb.

1769, and there is good evidence that he was not. The *Life of Johnson* says nothing about a trip to London at this time, which is negative evidence of the strongest kind. Moreover, John Ramsay of Ochtertyre (*Scotland and Scotsmen*, i. 172–3) says Boswell led the mob which broke the judges' windows on the night the news arrived from London by express, i.e. 2 March. Whatever may be mistaken in Ramsay's account, it is, I think, certain that Boswell was in some way connected with the riot. He could not have been in London to hear the speeches and have reached Edinburgh in time for the riot, for only one man, Ilay Campbell, the express who brought the news, had then arrived from London, and that only by riding night and day. I fancy Campbell wrote the letter for the *Mercury*. He was one of the ablest lawyers on the Douglas side—indeed, as warm a partisan as Boswell himself.

8. Extracts from, or the substance of some parts of, the speech of Lord Mansfield in the Douglas Cause. *Scots Mag.*, Jan. 1770 (xxxii. 9–14).

Mr. Fitzgerald also attributes this to Boswell (*Lady Jean*, p. 246). I imagine that he also meant to include in the attribution the speech of Lord Chancellor Camden in the Appendix of the magazine for 1769 (xxxi. 699–713). The objection raised against the preceding item applies with equal force to this. These speeches were clearly printed from the notes of some person in attendance on the debate. See the editorial notes, xxxi. 676 and xxxii. 9.

9. Lines 'Upon Dr. Goldsmith taking his Farewell of Poetry in his Deserted Village'. Dated 'Oxford, July 12th', and signed 'J.B.' *St. James's Chronicle*, July 17, 1770.

Sir James Prior, who gives a very inaccurate copy of these verses in his *Life of Goldsmith*, ii. 271–3, says they were 'originally supposed from the initials affixed, and perhaps from the verses being on a par with such as he usually wrote, to be written by Boswell'. This he is inclined to doubt, for 'little or nothing in [Goldsmith's] praise can be traced to the pen of Boswell'—a grossly inaccurate statement. The better reason for rejecting the lines is that, although Boswell was accustomed to date his anonymous contributions from any place that struck his fancy, he never gave a false place of dating to a piece signed with his own name or initials. 'J. B.' is one of the commonest

combinations of initials. See Malone's preface to the third edition of the *Life of Johnson*: seven contributors of notes of whom four have the initials 'J. B.'

10. The humours of the Town, a dramatic Interlude, in One Act. . . . [No imprint, but the 'Advertisement' is dated Oct. 1, 1776, which seems to have been the day of publication.]

Mr. Adam, who owns a copy of this rare skit, which is bound into a volume of quarto pamphlets from the Auchinleck Library, queries in his *Catalogue* whether Boswell be not the author. The piece is a satire on the city politics of Edinburgh in the autumn of 1776. Sir Lawrence Dundas, Bt., had represented the city in Parliament for many years, and in order to secure his election had to control by judicious bribery the election of the city magistrates. He was opposed by Henry Duke of Buccleuch and the powerful Dundases of Arniston, who wished to secure the election of an M.P. more favourable to their interests. The election of 1776 was especially close. Sir Lawrence's opponent, Lord Provost Stoddart, had Thomas Somers, one of the Council Deacons, hauled away from the Council-board and incarcerated for debt, refusing to honour an order from the Court of Session that he be set at liberty. Sir Lawrence's friends were consequently defeated, though he managed by other wiles to hold his seat in Parliament until 1780.

The piece is of such a character that it is difficult to base much of an argument on the style. It is a burlesque of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, and seems in general much better than Boswell's usual blank verse. There is, however, strong external evidence against the attribution. The author seems neutral, and deals out his satire to both parties without favour. We know, however, from Boswell's *Letter to the People of Scotland* (1785) that he would have sided with Sir Lawrence against Henry Dundas: 'I know of but two wrong things that he [Dundas] has done. One was attacking Sir Lawrence Dundas in the county of Orkney, "in his own manour, where he was a father to the people;" as that hospitable, that splendid, that imperial baronet, said to me, with tears in his eyes' (pp. 60–1).

The fact that Mr. Adam's copy was certainly Boswell's seems to me to argue against his being the author. For there is not a mark in it—not even a signature or a date. Had it been his composition, he would probably have written some note in it like that in his *Observations on the Minor*.

11. Review of 'Essays Moral and Literary'. *Lond. Mag.*, Dec. 1777 (xlvi. 619).

Attributed to Boswell by the editor of the *Letters to Temple* (p. 239) on the ground that the book was the publication of Temple's which Boswell speaks of in *Letters*, ii. 283–4. There is nothing strikingly Boswellian in the review, and the 'Essays Moral and Literary' are known to be the work of Vicesimus Knox, D.D.

12. Letter signed 'S.Y.', with memoir of Mr. Levett. *Lond. Mag.*, Sept. 1783 (n.s. i. 228–9, 232).

Doubtfully attributed to Boswell in D. Nicol Smith's bibliography of Boswell, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, x. 534. The following points cause me to reject it:

(*a*) So far as I know, none of Boswell's contributions to the *London Magazine* employs pseudonyms or false initials. Two or three are signed with his full name; the others bear no signature of any sort. This does not, of course, apply to articles copied from other periodicals, but this letter bears the heading 'To the Editor of the London Magazine'.

(*b*) 'S.Y.' includes a copy of Johnson's verses on Levett: 'Incorrect copies of this effusion . . . have been distributed: that which you will now receive is genuine.' However, this 'genuine' version differs in several particulars from that which Boswell gives in the *Life*, and which he says he took down from Johnson's own dictation in the spring of this year (iv. 137, 138 n. 3, 165, 274).

(*c*) For particulars of Levett's death, Boswell refers his readers in the *Life* to an article (said to be by George Steevens) in *Gent. Mag.*, Feb. 1785 (*Life*, iv. 137 n. 1). Had he written an article on Levett himself, he would certainly have preferred it.

13. Memoirs of Mrs. Anne Williams. Signed 'B'. *Lond. Mag.*, Dec. 1783 (n.s. i. 517–21).

Also doubtfully attributed to Boswell in Nichol Smith's bibliography. (See preceding item.) It is a much better piece of work than the memoir of Levett, and might be Boswell's so far as style is concerned. But Boswell would not, I think, have quoted the lines 'On the Death of Stephen Gray, F.R.S.' without adding the information which he had wormed out of Johnson after the lady herself had denied it 'with some warmth'; namely, that Johnson 'wrote it all over again, except two lines' (*Life*, ii. 26).

14. Letter, unsigned, announcing that Johnson intended Boswell to be his biographer. *St. James's Chron.*, Dec. 1784 or Jan. 1785. (See entry under *Lond. Mag.*, April 1785, where the letter is reprinted. Boswell specifically denies the authorship.)

15. Mr. Burke's New Whig *quasi* Wig. An Epigram, by Mr. Boswell ('immeasurably his best'). *The Oracle*, March 5, 1791.

On 8 March 1791 Boswell wrote to Malone, 'You would observe some stupid lines on Mr. Burke in the *Oracle*, "*by Mr. Boswell*"! I instantly wrote to Mr. Burke, expressing my indignation at such impertinence, and had next morning a most obliging answer. Sir William Scott told me I could have no legal redress. So I went *civilly* to Bell [publisher of *The Oracle*, a daily newspaper], and he promised to mention *handsomely* that *James Boswell, Esq.* was not the author of the lines. The note, however, on the subject was a second impertinence' (*Letters*, ii. 426).

The 'epigram' is as follows:

'Burke chang'd his scratch Whig for a well-powder'd Tye!
Well, the fact is as stated—I cannot deny.
As a Whig he has long ceas'd to copy an *old one*;
But pray, Friend, can you prove that he ever has *sold one*?
And if not, 'tis a good thought, you will not deny,
For an old Party *Scratch*, to take up a Court *Tye*.'

The apology, which appears in the issue for March 8, certainly is impertinent: 'Mr. Boswell disclaims to us the having written a charming Epigram, said to have flowed from his fine Pen, published in our print lately. Be it so. Rien n'est beau que le vrai.'

PART VI

PROJECTED WORKS

The dates are those of the sources in which the 'works' are first mentioned. Some of them would have been periodical.

1. A Story Book for Children, in the style of the Chap-Books, 1763.

In the great Child Memorial Collection of chap-books in the Harvard College Library are three small volumes containing eighty-three chap-books, each volume bearing the binder's title 'Curious Productions'. On the fly-leaf of the first volume is the following inscription: 'James Boswell Inner Temple 1763. Having, when a Boy, been much entertained with Jack the Giant-Killer, and such little Story Books, I have always retained a kind of affection for them, as they recall my early days. I went to the Printing Office in Bow Church Yard and bought this Collection, and had it bound up with the Title of *Curious Productions*. [Apparently this refers only to the first volume, as some of the pieces in the others are of later date than 1763.] I shall certainly, some time or other, write a little Story Book, in the style of these. It will not be a very easy task for me; it will require much nature and simplicity, and a great acquaintance with the humours and traditions of the english common people. I shall be happy to succeed for He who pleases Children will be remembered with pleasure by men.'

This set passed out of the possession of Boswell's descendants in the Auchinleck Sale of 1893 (Sotheby's Catalogue, lot 91). It was acquired by Harvard in 1902, together with a much larger collection made by Sir Alexander Boswell. See *Catalogue of . . . Chapbooks . . . in Harvard College Library*, 1905, p. vii, and an article by R. Bergengren, 'Boswell's Chapbooks and Others', *The Lamp*, Feb. 1904, pp. 39–44. In the Bodleian manuscript of Boswell's poems there are (fol. 88, 88^{v}, 89) some doggerel verses, 'The Merry Tales of Lyn', in the style of some of the chap-books in verse, but I think they were probably written before 1763.

2. Dictionary of Words peculiar to Scotland, 1769.

'On Thursday, October 19, [1769], I passed the evening with him [Johnson] at his house. He advised me to complete a Dictionary of words peculiar to Scotland, of which I shewed him a specimen'

(*Life*, ii. 91). The manuscript of this work was sold for sixteen shillings as lot 3172 of the sale of James Boswell the Younger, 1825 (*Bibliotheca Boswelliana*, p. 101). I am unaware of its present whereabouts.

3. Essay on the Genius and Writings of Dr. Young, 1772.

'Thursday 19 March [1772]. . . . I have for some time thought of writing an Essay on the Genius and writings of Dr. Young. . . . (Boswell's unpublished manuscript diary in the possession of Col. Isham.)

4. A History of Sweden, 1772.

'We were interrupted by the entrance of Mr. Kristrom, a Swede, who was tutor to some young gentlemen in the city. He told me, that there was a very good History of Sweden, by Daline. Having at that time an intention of writing the history of that country, I asked Dr. Johnson whether one might write a history of Sweden, without going thither. "Yes, Sir (said he,) one for common use"' [March 23, 1772] (*Life*, ii. 156).

5. An Edition of the Works of Francis Osborne, 1772.

'Saturday 18 April [1772]. . . . I have had a fondness for Sir Francis Osborne's Works, and was thinking to publish an edition of him with his life. . . .' (Boswell's unpublished manuscript diary in the possession of Col. Isham.)

6. A Life of Thomas Ruddiman, 1773.

'I told Dr. Johnson that I had some intention to write the life of the learned and worthy Thomas Ruddiman' [April 11, 1773] (*Life*, ii. 216).

7. A History of James IV of Scotland, 1773.

'I stepped into the chapel [of the Old College at Aberdeen] and looked at the tomb of the founder, Archbishop Elphinston, of whom I shall have occasion to write in my *History of James IV of Scotland*, the patron of my family' [Aug. 23, 1773] (*Life* v (*Hebrides*). 91).

8. A Poetical Letter to Dr. Johnson on his Return from Scotland, 1773.

'I yesterday [Aug. 31, 1773] told him, I was thinking of writing a poetical letter to him, *on his return from Scotland*, in the style of Swift's humorous epistle in the character of Mary Gulliver to her

husband . . . He laughed, and asked in whose name I would write it. I said, in Mrs. Thrale's. He was angry. "Sir, if you have any sense of decency or delicacy, you won't do that!" BOSWELL. "Then let it be in Cole's, the landlord of the *Mitre Tavern*; where we have so often sat together." JOHNSON. "Ay, that may do"' (*Life* v (*Hebrides*). 139).

9. A Novel on Sir Alexander Macdonald, 1773.

'[Boswell] has some thoughts of collecting [the stories about Sir Alexander Macdonald] and making a novel of his life.' Johnson to Mrs. Thrale, Nov. 3, 1773 (*Johnson's Letters*, Hill ed., i. 290).

10. The Pleadings of the Counsel in the Cause Hinton against Donaldson, 1774.

'It is expected that the Pleadings of the Counsel in this Cause will soon appear' (*Pub. Advt.*, Jan. 27, 1774; *St. James's Chron.*, Feb. 1, 1774). See also the notes on Part I, no. 50.

11. A History of Edinburgh, 1774.

'Wednesday 10 August [1774]. He [Mr. Paton] told me of a curious Manuscript in the Advocate's Library, the Diary of Birrel a Citizen of Edinburgh in which all things that happened in that man's time (from 15 to 16) are recorded. It will help me in my intended History of Edinburgh. . . .' (Boswell's unpublished manuscript diary in the possession of Col. Isham.)

12. A Supplement to Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, 1775.

'Mr. Johnson has allowed me to write out a supplement to his Journey.' Boswell to Temple, April 4, 1775 (*Letters*, i. 218. See also pp. 212, 222, 246, 256).

13. A Life of Lord Kames, 1775.

'I dined yesterday [June 18, 1775] with Lord Kames and his lady, *en famille*, and got from my Lord a good deal of his *Life*. He says he will put down particulars of himself if I will put them together and publish them' (*Letters*, i. 234). This manuscript was in existence in 1814, for Lord Woodhouselee made use of it in the second edition of his *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Henry Home of Kames*, published in that year. He probably borrowed it

from Sir Alexander Boswell. It was apparently a collection of anecdotes concerning the earlier portion of Lord Kames's life. See the entry under Posthumous Works, no. 5.

14. An Essay on the Profession of an Advocate, 1775.

'I have read a beautiful little French piece *Consultation sur la Discipline des Avocats*. It will animate my essay on the profession which I follow—if I ever write it' [Nov. 6, 1775] (*Letters*, i. 245).

15. A Tour to the Isle of Man, 1776.

'I mentioned a scheme which I had of making a tour to the Isle of Man, and giving a full account of it' [May 15, 1776] (*Life*, iii. 80).

16. A Life of Sir Alexander Dick, 1777.

'Last week Mr. James Boswell my friend expressed a desire to make a Biographical account of my life to my 74th year . . . I looked over many jottings . . . of past times and we had some droll interviews and it becomes he says very interesting' (Sir Alexander Dick's Diary, Jan. 12, 1777, from the Hon. Mrs. Atholl Forbes's *Curiosities of a Scots Charta Chest*, p. 257). 'Nov. 25, [1782]. Gave this day a missive to my worthy friend Mr. James Boswell of Auchinleck that he may after my Decease have the perusal of my great collection of Letters from my friends for many years past—for the purpose of his making out a Memory of my Life' (*Ibid.*, p. 303. See also *Letters*, ii. 280).

17. An Edition of Izaak Walton's *Lives*, 1777.

'Pray get for me all the editions of Walton's *Lives*: I have a notion that the republication of them with Notes will fall upon me, between Dr. Horne and Lord Hailes' [April 4, 1777] (*Letters*, i. 260. See also p. 205).

18. A History of the Civil War in Great Britain in 1745 and 1746, 1777.

'I observed, that we were this day [Sept. 19, 1777] to stop just where the Highland army did in 1745. JOHNSON. "It was a noble attempt." BOSWELL. "I wish we could have an authentick history of it." JOHNSON. "If you were not an idle dog, you might write it . . ." BOSWELL. "But I could not have the advantage of it in my life-time." JOHNSON. "You might have the satisfaction of its fame,

by printing it in Holland . . .' I said that I would endeavour to do what Dr. Johnson suggested; and I thought that I might write so as to venture to publish my *History of the Civil War in Great-Britain in 1745 and 1746*, without being obliged to go to a foreign press' (*Life*, iii. 162). In a note on this passage Boswell says he abandoned the project on hearing that John Home was writing a similar work. He certainly entertained the idea as late as 1785. See Nichols' *Illustrations*, vii. 472.

19. The Autobiography of Sir Robert Sibbald, 1778.

'I mentioned that I had in my possession the *Life of Sir Robert Sibbald*, the celebrated Scottish antiquary, . . . in the original manuscript in his own handwriting . . . I talked of some time or other publishing this curious life' [March 30, 1778] (*Life*, iii. 227–8). This manuscript, with an inscription by Boswell on the fly-leaf, was sold as lot 748 of the Auchinleck sale, 1893.

20. An Account of His Own Travels upon the Continent, 1778.

'I expressed some inclination to publish an account of my *Travels* upon the continent of Europe, for which I had a variety of materials collected' [April 17, 1778] (*Life*, iii. 300).

21. A Translation of Erasmus's *De Præparatione ad Mortem*, 1778.

'I would recommend *Erasmus de præparatione ad mortem*, an excellent performance of that great man, which I have long thought of translating into English' (*The Hypochondriack*, No. XV, *Lond. Mag.*, Dec. 1778, p. 534).

22. A Collected Edition of *The Hypochondriack*, 1781.

At some time during the publication of *The Hypochondriack*, Boswell prepared to reprint the first forty numbers of the series in book form. For this purpose he collected the pages from the *London Magazine*, stitched them together, bound them with a grey wrapper, and corrected and revised the text for the printer. This volume is now in the possession of Col. Isham, who secured it among the Malahide papers. Boswell presumably prepared this collection shortly after January 1781, for if he had made it after the completion of the series he would naturally have divided the seventy essays into two equal volumes of thirty-five numbers each.

23. The Praises of Dr. Johnson by Contemporary Writers, 1784.

'I wish to publish, as a regale to him, a neat little volume, *The Praises of Dr. Samuel Johnson, by Contemporary Writers*' (Boswell to Percy, March 8, 1784. *Letters*, ii. 322). Lot 3171 in the sale of the Library of James Boswell the Younger consisted of: 'Johnsoniana, a Selection of scraps from periodical papers', the proof-sheets of the first edition of the *Life of Johnson*, and 'a parcel of loose papers . . . relating to the *Life of Johnson*' (*Bibliotheca Boswelliana*, p. 101). The 'scraps' may have been the materials for this book.

24. Memoirs of David Hume, 1785.

'I have preserved some entertaining and interesting memoirs of him [Hume], particularly when he knew himself to be dying, which I may some time or other communicate to the world.' This quotation occurs in *Hebrides* under the date of 15 Aug. 1773 (*Life*, v. 30), but as an *obiter dictum* made at the time of the publication of the book. The unpublished manuscript of these interesting memoirs is in the possession of Col. Isham, who secured it among the Malahide papers. It consists of eight quarto pages, 9 by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, a fair copy entirely in Boswell's own hand, and endorsed by him, 'An Account of my last Interview with David Hume Esq ; Partly recorded in my Journal ; partly enlarged from my Memory 3 March 1777'. The interview took place on 7 July 1776, a month and a half before Hume's death.

[25. A Life of Lord Pitfour, ? 1786.

In Samuel Lysons' Collection of Johnsonian cuttings (see *ante*, p. 265) is preserved the following, without date or name of the paper from which it was taken: '*Anecdote* of Mr. Ferguson, one of the present candidates for Aberdeenshire.—It is not true, as it has been whispered, that this young Gentleman never said a good thing. We think the following deserves that name. On the death of his father, Mr. Boswell threatened to write his life.—He had treasured up a great many of his *Saws*, and he mentioned in every company that he had a volume of Memoirs of the good old Lord in great forwardness.—In consequence of this Mr. Ferguson went to him, and said,—" I hear, Mr. Boswell, that you mean to publish Anecdotes of Lord Pitfour.—Now, I come to tell you, Jamie, in few words, that if you do, by G— I'll thresh you, for I am bound to

protect my father's memory from *dullness* as well as *detraction*." What a pity that Dr. Johnson died without issue!' Lord Pitfour died 25 June 1777, but this paragraph could hardly have appeared before the publication of *Hebrides*. Because of the questionable authenticity of the information I have put the projected work in brackets. It certainly deserves mention.]

26. A Pamphlet in Favour of the Regency, 1789.

'I have said nothing about the *Regency* because you have it all in the newspapers. . . . Do you know I was at first carried away with the notion of the *right* having *devolved* to the Prince, and had almost written one of my very warm popular pamphlets for it' [Jan. 10, 1789] (*Letters*, ii. 355–6).

27. A Pamphlet against the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, 1790.

'I am thinking to write *in my way* against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.' [Feb. 13, 1790] (*Letters*, ii. 390).

28. An Appeal to the People upon the threatened Project of involving Great Britain in a War with Russia in order to assist the Turks, 1791.

'I am hesitating whether I should not write one of my characteristical pamphlets upon this crisis, *An Appeal to the People upon the threatened Project of involving this Country in a War with Russia in order to assist the Turks*' [April 2, 1791] (*Letters*, ii. 433).

29. A Collection of Feudal Tenures and Charters of Scotland, 1791.

In a note in the *Life*, iii. 414, on a letter of Johnson's dated Oct. 27, 1779, urging him to comply with his father's advice and make such a collection, Boswell writes, 'I have a valuable collection made by my Father, which, with some additions and illustrations of my own, I intend to publish.'

30. A Work maintaining the Merits of Addison's Poetry, 1791.

'I shall probably, in another work, maintain the merit of Addison's poetry, which has been very unjustly depreciated' (*Life*, i. 225 n. 2).

31. An Edition of Johnson's Poems, 1791.

'I have promised a complete edition of them [Johnson's poems], in which I shall with the utmost care ascertain their authenticity, and illustrate them with notes and various readings' (*Life*, i. 16 n. See also iv. 375 n. 2).

32. A Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1795.

'March 27. [1795]—Boswell told me He had serious intentions of writing the life of Sir Joshua Reynolds,—but that He hesitated a little abt. Lady Inchiquin as in describing the dispute with the Academy He must acknowledge Sir Joshua to have been to blame' (Joseph Farington's *Diary*, i. 95). Malone seems to have been in error in writing in *Gent. Mag.*, lxv. 471, 'He never seriously thought of writing the Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds.' See also Hazlitt's *Conversations of Northcote* (1830), p. 84.

33. A Study of the Controversy over *The Beggar's Opera*, 1795.

'He mentioned at the same time [within two months of his death] a design, as in some forwardness, of publishing a quarto volume, to be embellished with fine plates, on the subject of the controversy occasioned by the Beggar's Opera. . . . With this particular view he had lately paid several visits to the present truly humane "Governor of Newgate", as he ordinarily styled Mr. Kirby' (Letter by 'M. Green' in *Gent. Mag.*, June 1795, p. 471. 'M. Green' was one of the pseudonyms of John Nichols. See Cushing's *Initials and Pseudonyms*, 2nd Ser., p. 104).

34. A Reply to Dr. Parr and other Critics of *The Life of Johnson*, 1795.

'To the communications of our correspondents . . . relative to our late worthy friend James Boswell, Esq., we have to add, that he was preparing, at the time he was taken ill, a general answer to the letter from the Ajax of Literature, in our p. 179; in which he proposed also briefly to notice the attacks of his more puny antagonists' (*Gent. Mag.*, June 1795, p. 525). As this paragraph occurs in the 'Additions

and Corrections', it is probably by the editor, John Nichols. The article on p. 179 is a long and able letter from Samuel Parr, defending the accuracy of certain statements he had made as to Dr. Priestley and Dr. Johnson, attacked by Boswell in *Life*, iv. 238 n. 1. The last letter written by Boswell (April 13, 1795) relates to Parr's inscription for the monument of Johnson in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the efforts made to get him to submit it to revision (*Letters*, ii. 465).

PART VII

REVIEWS

The following list gives references to such contemporary reviews as I have noted for the works in Parts I and IV:

A View of the Edinburgh Theatre. *Gent. Mag.*, xxx. 96 (Feb. 1760); *Scots Mag.*, xxii. 109 (Feb. 1760—from *Gent. Mag.*); *Month. Rev.*, xxii. 256 (March 1760).

Observations on the Minor. *Month. Rev.*, xxiii. 524 (Dec. 1760); *Crit. Rev.*, xi. 77 (Jan. 1761).

Original Poems by Scotch Gentlemen. *British Mag.*, iii. 269 (May 1762); *Month. Rev.*, xxvii. 226–7 (Sept. 1762); *Crit. Rev.*, xiii. 495–9 (June 1762).

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APPENDIX I

Samuel Vaughan's 'Appeal to the Public', 1770

This pamphlet prints for the first time two original letters from Boswell to Vaughan, and might therefore be listed in Part I as a 'work partially by Boswell'. It seems to me better, however, to give it a separate entry, for Boswell's share in all the works of Part I was expressly written for publication, while it is probable that this appeared without his concurrence or knowledge.

An | Appeal | to the | Public | on behalf of | Samuel Vaughan, Esq; | in | A full and impartial Narrative of his Negotiation | with | The Duke of Grafton. | Containing, | The several Affidavits, Letters, &c. of the Duke | of Grafton, and Others, as filed in the Court of | King's Bench, Michaelmas Term, 1769; and the | different Pleadings and Speeches on the Case. | Together with an Account of various Transactions | before and since the Rule was made absolute. | And an Appendix | relating to the Public Offices in the Island of Jamaica. | [*Long rule*] | What stronger Breast-plate than a Heart untainted? | Thrice is he arm'd, who hath his Quarrel just; | And he but naked, though lock'd up in Steel, | Whose Conscience with Injustice is corrupted. | [*Long double rules*] | London: | Printed for E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry. | MDCCLXX.

Collation:—Octavo, printed in half-sheets, pp. viii + 136; consisting of: Half-title, '[*Row of type-ornaments*] | Mr. Vaughan's | Appeal to the Public. | [*Row of type-ornaments*]', pp. [i–ii]; Title-page, as above (with blank reverse), pp. [iii–iv]; *Preface* (dated Feb. 13, 1770), pp. [v–vi] (p. v actually bears the number 3 in the centre between square brackets, and p. vi is numbered with an arabic numeral); *Contents*, p. [vii]; *Errata*, p. [viii]; Text of the 'Narrative', pp. [1]–136. There are no headlines, the pages being centrally numbered in arabic numerals placed between square brackets. The signatures are [A] to S4, eighteen half-sheets, each four leaves.

Issued 'stabbed', perhaps with wrapper. There is a copy in the British Museum. My collation is from a copy in the possession of Professor C. B. Tinker. The leaves of this copy (which have been trimmed) measure $8\frac{1}{8}$ by $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Samuel Vaughan was a wealthy West India merchant, a close friend of Beckford and Trecothick, and an especially fervent supporter of Wilkes. He was of great assistance in the campaign for raising subscriptions for the Corsicans, his name appearing frequently in the newspapers during 1769 in connexion with appeals for contributions and notices of sums actually sent to Paoli. I have suggested (*ante*, pp. 78, 83) that he may have been the author of some of the *Essays in Favour of the Brave Corsicans*. Soon after Paoli landed in England, the Duke of Grafton brought against Vaughan a charge of bribery, alleging that he had offered his Grace, as First Lord of the Treasury, the sum of £5,000 if he would procure for his son the reversionary grant of the office of clerk of the Crown in Jamaica. The case was extremely interesting, as it was doubtful whether such an offer were an offence within the statute. It appears that the Duke, having obtained from the Court of King's Bench a rule that the matter was certainly 'fit for enquiry', made no move towards an actual prosecution, his object being merely to damage Vaughan's political reputation, which he seems to have thought sufficiently accomplished by the indictment. After waiting some months, Vaughan published this pamphlet (a collection of papers connected with the proceedings) to exonerate himself in the eyes of the public. At the very end, pp. 133–6, after the 'Finis', is added, in smaller print and probably as an afterthought, a section of 'Correspondence', consisting of letters which passed between Vaughan, Boswell, and Paoli between the dates 22 Sept. and 6 Oct. 1769. Of Boswell's two letters the first is simply a brief note offering to arrange a meeting between Vaughan and Paoli. Vaughan, who was angry because Paoli had previously waited upon the Duke of Grafton and other representatives of the Government, replied that 'much as he had admired and revered the late distressed patriot, he equally despised a vain-glorious sycophant' (p. 134). Boswell rejoined in a rather lofty tone, 'heartily excusing' him on behalf of the General, and offering again to arrange a meeting. This seems, however, never to have taken place. Vaughan printed the correspondence as 'one proof among many others, that he would not, even at the most critical juncture, suppress his sentiments, however repugnant to those in power' (p. 133).

APPENDIX II

Additional Notes on the Third Edition of 'Dorando'

I made my notes on the third edition of *Dorando* at Edinburgh in August 1925 from Dr. McKinlay's copy, but was unable at the time to put it beside a copy of the first or second edition. Consequently my statement of the typographical differences rested entirely on my recollection of the appearance of the copies I had seen some weeks earlier in the British Museum and the Bodleian. I did not then suppose the relationship of the editions to be so perplexed, for I was then convinced that the first and second editions were printed in London, and the chronology of the advertisements made it pretty certain that the third must have come from a Scottish press. My whole article was in proof when (June 1928) Mr. McCamic sent me his recently acquired copy of the second edition. The moment I opened its pages it flashed upon me that the typography was that of the Foulis Press, with which in 1925 I was far from familiar. I at once, with Mr. Rollins's help, revised the article to the form in which it now stands (pp. 32–4), and was delighted when I visited Col. Isham a few days later to find complete confirmation in Boswell's unpublished diary. I should thereupon have cancelled the argument and presented simply the extract from the diary, but I have left it, partly through vanity and partly because I believe the methods it illustrates may be helpful to other bibliographers.

The discovery that the first and second editions came from the Foulis Press reopened the question of the place of printing of the third edition, for, if the first and second editions were printed in Scotland, it was physically possible that the third could have come from the same press. On my appeal Dr. McKinlay and Mr. McCamic most generously sent me their books again to enable me and Mr. Rollins to make a thorough comparison. Having made it, I believe that the article as it stands is substantially correct. It perhaps exaggerates the dissimilarity in appearance. The printer who set up the third edition must have taken a great deal of pains to make it in type and format look like the first and second. He arranged his matter in exactly the same way, and was careful about the regularity of his line-spacing, though I think he used leads. The large type used for the heading 'Dorando' on the half-title, title-page, and first page of the text, seems to be identical with the corresponding Foulis

type. The small capitals used for the statement of the price on the half-title and for the imprint on the title-page may also be the same. But the rest of the type is not the same as that used in the first and second editions, and I think differs from any employed at the Foulis Press. The text is printed in a smaller size—pica instead of English. The pica ordinarily employed at the Foulis Press is the type in which the text of the first edition of Boswell's *Corsica* is set; it has a similar face, but is readily distinguishable. The register of the third edition of *Dorando* is often inexact, which in itself is perhaps enough to show that the Foulises did not print it. The paper is different from that used in either the first or second edition, the watermark being a plain fleur-de-lis. The broken dashes of the first edition appear, but in a haphazard manner. In the Foulis Press work they seem to indicate an actual shortage of dashes in the fount. The printer who set the third edition had plenty of dashes, but occasionally (as on pp. 28, 36) followed his original and used dashes made of hyphens.

It may now be categorically stated that the first two editions of *Dorando* were printed at the Foulis Press; and I believe it may almost as confidently be asserted that the third edition was not.

APPENDIX III

Additional Notes on the Manuscript of the Life of Johnson

(See p. 164.) After this passage went to press, I was able with Col. Isham's kind permission and assistance to make an exact collation of the longest consecutive portion of the manuscript (Hill, ii. 432–43). I sent a list of the variant readings to Mr. Adam in the hope that a reference to the proofs in his possession would show at once whether or not this was a portion of the copy actually used by the printer. But unfortunately Mr. Adam has the first proofs for only the first volume, and the pages of the manuscript all come within the second. The revises, of which Mr. Adam has a complete set, seem to show that two of the variant readings were in the manuscript; for the others they afford no evidence one way or the other. The problem, in short, which on the face of it appears to be very simple, turns out to be of the greatest complexity. It will be thoroughly investigated by Mr. Geoffrey Scott in a forthcoming volume of the materials for the *Life of Johnson* now preserved in the Isham Collection. But correspondence with Mr. Scott has convinced me that I was mistaken in my original inference that these leaves are a fragment of a first draft which Boswell later transcribed with extensive revision. The eleven manuscript pages which I have collated show some forty significant verbal differences from the six printed pages corresponding, and the differences in punctuation are even more striking. Mr. Scott estimates that the instances in which stops have been added or altered average thirty-five per printed page. However, the proofs of the first volume, which have survived, show that Boswell made very extensive changes and additions in the press. There is, I believe, no sequence of pages showing so many changes as we have here, but many single pages show as high a percentage. And the changes in pointing are equally inconclusive; it is only in recent times that printers have expected authors to punctuate their copy. The additions on the backs of the pages would certainly lead one at first glance to conclude that such copy could never have been followed by a printer, even if he had been willing to try. But the additions, though untidy, prove upon investigation to be quite systematic, and to be connected to the text by a series of reference signs which Boswell himself would hardly have required. They are, moreover, the same signs that Boswell used in correcting his proofs.

The earlier pages of the proofs show him making very explicit directions for the place and sequence of his additions ; as the printing progressed and the compositor grew more familiar with his signs, he became less formal. Mr. Scott also has found that one compositor set the greater part of the copy, and that Boswell himself was in constant personal attendance on the press.

There has fortunately survived independent evidence to the fact that Boswell was in such haste to bring out his book that he avoided copying wherever he could. The original manuscript of the Ashbourne Journal (*Life*, iii. 135–208) is in the Isham Collection. Mr. Scott finds that considerable portions of it have been revised, and on some of the pages appear signature marks corresponding roughly with those of the printed book. This seems to me clear proof that these pages from the Journal were used by the printer in setting the text. It therefore seems certain that pages of the Isham MS. were part of Boswell's final draft, but it does not seem to me so certain that they were used as printer's copy. There is the possibility that a fair copy may have intervened. The number of verbal differences is not in itself conclusive, but it does seem significant that none of these sixteen pages show signs of having been through a printer's hands. Unless the division of the first proofs was very different from that of the printed book, at least one signature division would have fallen within the copy, but no signature marks appear, as they do in the Ashbourne Journal. Yet the sending of the original pages of the Ashbourne Journal to the printer indicates that a fair copy was not made for the entire text.

A tempting hypothesis is that, though Boswell in general made no fair copy, he transcribed, or had transcribed pages here and there when they bore so large a number of corrections as to be confusing. In that case the Isham MS. would be a series of leaves discarded from the final draft, their places having been supplied by a transcript—perhaps the reason why they managed to survive while the rest of the manuscript (except for the portion taken from the Ashbourne Journal) has perished. Mr. Scott is certain from a review of all the evidence in his possession that Boswell would not have made such a fair copy himself, but thinks it possible that his clerk might have.

The extreme rarity of old manuscripts certainly used as printer's copy makes the point—a trifling one in itself—of great interest. Is it an accident that the manuscripts of *The Journal of a Tour to Corsica* and *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* were both missing from the Auchinleck papers, and that the manuscript of *An Account of*

Corsica, which has survived, was clearly not that from which the book was set? Mr. McKerrow has discussed this point in his *Introduction to Bibliography* (p. 186 n.). It has been held that the usual practice was to destroy the printer's copy as soon as the book was printed. This he thinks unlikely, at least in earlier periods, because the manuscript would have borne the signature of the licenser, and would naturally have been preserved 'for a time in case any question should arise as to the book having been duly passed by the authorities'. Is it not probable that the printer continued the custom of retaining the copy, even after the practice of licensing had lapsed, in order to protect himself in case he were unjustly charged by the author with carelessness, after the book had been published? Mr. McKerrow, in fact, records one case for the seventeenth century which seems to support this view. Such manuscripts would all have disappeared, unless some special reason arose for their preservation, for the printer would not ordinarily have kept them for more than a few years.

ADDENDUM

As I am passing this last sheet for press I am informed, through Mr. Chapman, by Mr. Boyle of Baker's Bookshop, Birmingham, that the advance announcement of the *Life of Johnson* which I have recorded *ante*, p. 265, and printed in full on p. 163, also appears on the original front wrapper of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1787. The newspaper publication was probably the earlier.

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